INTERPOLATION IN THUCYDIDES

BY

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PREFACE

This book is an attempt to improve my 1993 doctoral dissertation "Evidence of Interpolation in the Text of Thucydides," and was written to explore what seemed a piece of *terra incognita.* For on the one hand I saw that the widespread interpolation of glosses, grammatical stop-gaps and other matter into this text, though a thing sensed by every attentive reader, had never been closely studied, except by the same nineteenth-century editors who used to bracket whole clauses with some too laconic explanation like "*suspecta mihi*" or "*turpe emblema delevi.*" Yet I *also* felt that those men were often right at least to make trouble, and that present-day conservatism is a trifle insensitive. To me Cobet, Herwerden, Rutherford and others seemed bypassed but unrefuted still.

So I decided carefully to sift what scraps of firm evidence I could uncover. I soon found that "firm evidence" tends to mean MS disagreement, and nothing else; and that I must therefore pay constant close attention to the *stemma codicum.* Since the stemma has only recently been mapped exactly, and since some divisions in Thucydides MSS are very old, the results of such scrutiny seem now and then both new and instructive.

But this evidence is only a small part of that traditionally adduced. Besides, it does tend to fail us precisely with the oldest and most numerous instances of putative interpolation. One would like most to know what happened in the fourth and third centuries B.C.! So I had to organize *most* of the book in such a way as to examine closely, one by one, each of our other grounds of suspicion, from what seemed the clearest (evidence of an inscription) to the obscurest ("internal" or stylistic criteria). As a rough rule, the results seemed either negative—i.e., there is no actual evidence for interpolation at all—or positive but indecisive. Of course, it is often these last that most vex and interest us. I felt, therefore, that if the general results of this survey were to have any objective value, I must examine many particular passages—wherever the Greek looks queer and pleonastic—at some length, so as to arrive at the probable truth about each of them. Hence, the somewhat miscellaneous character of this book, and the great length of certain discussions of particular passages, especially in Chapter VIII, which is devoted to internal criteria.

Such, then, is the *raison d'être* of this monograph, and I hope that its findings may be of some use for the study both of this and of other MS traditions. In its present form it is indebted to the critique of a reader at E.J. Brill, and it remains much indebted to the kindness, learning and tact of its original readers at the University of Pennsylvania, A.J. Graham and Martin Ostwald.

INTRODUCTION

> Nunc Thucydidem deponam de manibus, postquam uno exemplo ostendero quam pertinaciter homines docti quamvis manifesta emblemata retineant. Thucydides dixerat 5.83 Λακεδαιμόνιοι... ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὸ Ἄργος... ὑπῆρχε δέ τι αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτόθεν πρασσόμενον. Sunt haec, credo, satis perspicua, et quid sit αὐτόθεν apparet. Tamen erat in libris scholion: αὐτόθεν· ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους. Puerile est et fatuum: sic isti solent. Scin' quid sit hodie in omnibus libris? Nempe hoc: ὑπῆρχε δέ τι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους αὐτόθεν πρασσόμενον. Aperit fraudem Duker, deleri iubet Valckenaer: Frustra: nemo audit et futile additamentum adhuc nullo pacto extirpari potuit, sed
>
> θαρσεῖν χρή, φίλε Βάττε, τάχ' αὔριον ἔσσετ' ἄμεινον
>
> Cobet, *Variae Lectiones* I p. 457

Despite the perfection of his inner conviction, Cobet is probably wrong about this passage. He seems wrong both about the quasi-pleonastic idiom which is in fact well attested (see Steup ad loc. or Krüger[1]) and in his appeal to the scholiast, as if that clinched anything (see below Ch. V, "Schol. non legit."). And more generally—like Madvig, Herwerden, Stahl, Rutherford and Marchant, and even Jones and Hude—he seems wrong about the frequency of this phenomenon.

I thus regard this passage as paradigmatic—but not exactly as Cobet did.

Nevertheless, a somewhat crude insertion of glosses and other notes into the text of Thuc. is not a nineteenth-century mirage, but a historical fact for which there is abundant evidence. The evidence seems worth collecting and sifting, and at some length: not so much because of the great number of places in which it has been suspected as because, more radically than by any other kind of corruption, one's trust in the integrity of the MS tradition is shaken by every certain instance of it.

A rough verbal definition will also define the scope of this study.

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[1] Steup cites 2.25.3, 3.81.3, 3.98.2, Krüger four instances from other authors; see also C.F. Smith at 3.81.3, and L. Herbst, *Über C.G. Cobets Emendationen*, 58–60. There is always an implicit contrast with some other place, and αὐτόθεν (or αὐτοῦ) is intensive. One suspects even that the intensive pronoun αὐτός becomes an adverb simply because it is felt as modifying the whole prepositional phrase (or sometimes, another adverb) rather than the noun, so that e.g. αὐτόθεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους = ἐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἄργους.

Etymologically, the word "interpolation" should refer to any deliberate "polishing" of a text, however minute; so that some textual critics use it to mean *all* copyists' emendation that results in a change of the paradosis. But in general, I shall use the term as others most commonly do, to signify the insertion (whether it was deliberate or not[2]) into the text of entire words, phrases and larger units. That is, I tend to ignore alteration of existing words,[3] and to be concerned with every intrusion that causes editors to use square brackets, along with some "intrusive glosses" that do not.

It is natural to wonder how common this is in Greek prose MSS generally, relatively to other corruption. But though inevitable, this naive question is too vague to answer; for one's impression differs according to the MS tradition (for traditions seem to differ: see Ch. XI) and with the critic one is reading. Later in this book we can survey the oldest extensive evidence, which is that of the papyri. Here I can but point to a few studies that attain a *kind* of objectivity by scrutinizing what some extant MSS expose in others. Of the many hundreds of errors collected by Douglas Young among extant Aeschylus and Pindar MSS, only a dozen or so are attributed to this cause by him. This is not merely because *meter* is the salt that kept the meat from rotting. One finds the same result in William Wyse's survey of Isaeus MSS, and he ends his discussion (p. xl) with a polemical remark: "S.A. Naber and H. van Herwerden, following the lead of their illustrious master Cobet, ply the knife without mercy. Apparently they think it sound criticism to excise everything which is not indispensable to a trained scholar scrutinizing a speech in his study."[4]

Of course, such surveys tend to isolate medieval and Renaissance (i.e. post-Alexandrian) corruption; but in my own strong impression, MS corruption of prose texts tends at all times (discounting cer-

[2] As will be shown in Ch. I, it is often quite impossible to decide whether an intrusion was "deliberate." For this reason, "interpolation" often means an intrusion that is really "unconscious" or "mechanical;" and beyond that, we often speak of "mechanical interpolation" (as here in Ch. X). Strictly, that is a contradiction; still, everyone knows at once what is meant by it; and I may refer to a good saying of Alan Gardiner's: "Nothing is less desirable in speech however little logicians may relish this assertion—than a misplaced accuracy" (quoted by G.B. Bolling, *The Athetized Lines of the Iliad* 12 n. 1).

[3] I.e. most often of inflections. Such changes I do notice now and then, when they illuminate relations between MSS (thus e.g. in Ch. II, section 8) or some general problem of method (e.g. in Ch. VI, 3 on 7.68.1 and Valla).

[4] Young, *GRBS* 5 (1964) 94-5 (interpolation in Aeschylus MSS), *GRBS* 6 (1965) 270-1 (in Pindar); Wyse, *The Speeches of Isaeus* xl.

tain peculiarities of the *recentiores* mentioned below) to have the same basic causes.[5]

Wyse's attitude, though never universal, more or less prevailed eventually. In his 1972 edition of Thuc. books 1–2, Alberti, according to my rough count, deletes or brackets some 25 times, usually single words; while in 1891 Marchant—though he later had regrets about this—deletes or brackets over 100 times in book 2 alone, and often long phrases![6] And yet, more often than perhaps is usual now, I shall cite and discuss the older critics, even if only to refute them. At heart, this matter can never be quite resolved; and among today's fairly bracket-free texts one can sometimes sense either a false, doctrinaire conservatism or mere indifference.[7] Because of the demonstrable great age of much palpable intrusion, there is some uncertainty at the very core of such a book as this. This is discussed directly in Chapter XI and again briefly in Chapter XII; elsewhere I would not merely "allow" for it but even, at times, point to it; and it seems a mistake to dismiss offhand the intuition of scholars who, for all their blunders, were often abnormally attentive to Greek usage, to Thucydidean usage and to the habits of copyists. To read Rutherford's introduction to book 4, or Marchant's to book 2, or Cobet's or Herwerden's "Thucydidea" is to be, for better or worse, alarmed by real possibilities.[8]

Still, my own position will be somewhat relentlessly conservative.

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[5] Verse is a somewhat different story, as will be noticed in Ch. I (ad fin. passim), Ch. XI.

[6] See his own list (which is not complete) on pp. xxviii–xxxvi; and there note how arch-conservative, by comparison, was Bekker!—as also was Poppo. In part, this reflects changing editorial practise: Poppo on the one hand, Alberti on the other, confine their doubts to the commentary, or at least the apparatus, whereas Marchant imagined that he should collaborate with Thuc. (cf. p. lxiii). But the change in vision too is real; and at length Marchant too came round (see his introduction to Book 3, p. xl f.).

[7] It seems impolite, and perhaps pointless, to name names. In general, it can be assumed that I less esteem the automatic, or ingenious, or stubborn conservatism of certain editors whom I cite rarely, than I do the conjectures of the earlier scholars—above all perhaps Poppo, Steup, Hude and Jones—against whom I most often argue.

[8] Editors now largely ignore the too facile conjectures of Badham, Cobet and Herwerden, published in the early numbers of *Mnemosyne*. Most of them seem useless; many even wanton, mischievously clever, and the fruit of a kind of freedom in conjecture which is no longer tolerated. But some have a brilliance and a suggestive power that make them worth reading still; and as I hope to show, a few of them, though forgotten, seem demonstrably right.

As regards their most basic intuition of a paradosis hugely corrupt, these scholars were only in part demonstrably wrong. For they imagined—too constantly and

In a great many particular cases this is due to conviction, for which concrete reasons can be given; but insofar as it affects the choice of examples and the very structure of the discussion, it results from the limited purpose of this study, which is to achieve analytical clarity. Often, one longs as keenly as Cobet to excise this or that harmless and well attested phrase, which one dislikes. Even the sanest reader of Thuc. may suffer a sudden sort of paranoia, in which any kind of roughness or queerness puts him in mind of interpolation.[9] But given the inevitable quirks of a text which its author did not publish and which often seems "unfinished" in more than one sense; given also the constant presence of other kinds of MS corruption (above all, of lacunae) which a supposed "gloss" may conceal; given Thucydides' "taste for bold linguistic experiments,"[10] and the fact that not only his constructions but also his thoughts and even his facts are each at times surprising;[11] given that, since the *History* is somewhat *sui generis*, and comparison with other historiography uncertain, it is hard to guess how much Thuc. himself might have wished to "gloss";[12] and given in short the danger either in ignoring the problem or in re-writing this text to suit one's own taste, I have thought it best simply to demarcate, analyze and schematize that which alone can be considered hard evidence. For it is only thus that one begins to sense the exact nature, and the rough general extent, of this kind of corruption in Thuc. MSS.

But what constitutes "hard evidence" is itself open to question. I

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vividly—Byzantine copyists as responsible for the worst corruption, and this has been disproven by the papyri (see Ch. VII).

[9] For an instance of "paranoia" in the latest commentary, see Hornblower at 2.15.2 fin., 2.15.4, 2.15.5 on the "antiquarian" scholiast. Oddly, Hornblower writes each long, detailed note as if the text were authentic, then adds a postscript allowing for its spuriousness; and nowhere does he examine the diction, the syntax, etc. of the actual Greek.

[10] The phrase is Andrewes' (*HCT* V. 387, aptly citing 6.76.4). In the present study, that problem is addressed passim but especially in Ch. VIII ("Internal Evidence"), sections 4 and 5.

[11] See for example on 5.47.5 (Krüger), 2.13.3 (Meritt and Wade-Gery): places rashly emended as historically impossible.

[12] On this see Ronald Ridley's admirable study in *Hermes* 109 (1981) 25–47. Ridley is not concerned with possible interpolation, and a few of his examples, accepted by him without question, will be discussed in this book. But on the whole, his evidence shows that Thuc. inserted many "glosses" not needed by "the trained scholar in his study." He shows that there are rough patterns (e.g. most heavily glossed: Athens, then Sparta, then Thrace; most sparsely glossed: Book 8 in general), but that the glossing is not predictable (e.g., some notes even seem to envisage non-Greek readers).

can best illustrate this by quoting again from Cobet (*Mnemosyne* XI (1862) p. 362):

> Vide mihi Graeculorum temeritatem apud Thuc. **1.42**. ἀξιούτω τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι, ubi Scholiastes: ἀμύνεσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμείβεσθαι. μόνος δὲ Θουκυδίδης ἐνταῦθα κέχρηται τῇ ἐναλλαγῇ τῆς λέξεως, ὡς καί τινας ἐναλλάττειν τὴν γραφὴν καὶ γράφειν ΑΜΕΙΒΕΣΘΑΙ, οὐκ ἔστι δέ. Et fertur hoc ipsum ἀμείβεσθαι in nonnullis Codicibus.

This autoschediastic *Graeculus*, whose date is unknowable, seems more intelligent than many; yet as Cobet points out, this idiom is found in many writers, and at Thuc. 4.63.2![13] Not less impressive is the still more reckless extemporizing of the copyists who "emended" the text here. And yet it would be wrong to draw far-reaching conclusions from this; for this "scholium" is not typical; and, as is most often the case with such chilling examples, the "nonnulli codices" (e.g. Ar O Ha Q Vk, supralin. L P Pk) are all *recentiores*.[14] For the text of Thuc. such MSS are often valuable, as certain ancient readings are found only in them; but the same officiousness in collation that produced those readings also greatly increased the number—as well as the crudity—of interpolations. This becomes plain with even the most cursory look at any old apparatus (e.g. Poppo's or Arnold's) that often records their readings.[15]

[13] As Cobet says—taking his cue perhaps from Eustathius p. 546. 27 (quoted by Schwabe *Quaestiones* p. 91)—the basic meaning of ἀμύνεσθαι is *par pari referre*; "olim crebro usu dicebatur ἀμύνεσθαι ὧν τις εὖ ἔπαθεν et ὧν τις κακῶς. Deinde (ut solent verba media) in alteram partem vergere coepit et signficare ἀντὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν." On the problem of dating scholia, see Ch. V init.

With this "Graeculus"—this "homuncio" (as Cobet also calls him), this Byzantine "magistellus," this "sciolus (quisquis est)"—Cobet conducts a kind of good-humored σκιομαχία. The little man's "annotatiuncula" is "putida," "absurda," "semibarbara," "puerilis," "insulsa," "fatua," "futilis," "inutilis," "ad hanc lucem difficilis sine risu relegere." One gathers from Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship* (290 f.) that Cobet invented these epithets for the edification of his own colleagues, who seemed insensitive to Attic idiom, on account of their devotion to late Greek writers, "qui diu post exstinctam Graeciam balbutire Graece rectius quam dicere ac scribere dicantur."

[14] For a definition of the term *recentiores* versus "capital MSS" see Appendix V, part 1. My information about 4.63 is from Arnold's apparatus and from Alberti's (as often, no apparatus has the whole truth). As regards the *sigla* of the codd. recc., see the note at the end of this introduction.

[15] Or notice the huge number of additions—nearly all of which are plainly false, because they banalize—written into Pi by the same hand (Pi^3) that also introduced some plainly old, valuable readings: Alberti, *Thucydidis Historiae* cxxv–cxxvi and "Questioni tucididee" XIII 4–7. (The latter is a list of Pi^3-Valla agreements; in it I find only one deletion of a phrase in our paradosis, as against dozens of insertions.) Why, from the 12th century onwards, one finds a sudden influx of interpolations, as

Thus at least from the first part of this study, which is concerned with individual MSS and MS families, I tend to exclude such "evidence" as is not given by the seven "capital MSS" of Stahl and Hude. This means, for example, that I accept scarcely one of the many examples offered as hard evidence by Rutherford, in the introduction to his edition of Book 4 (London 1890): almost every example is either purely hypothetical or taken from the *worst*—i.e., most plainly derivative, corrupt and heavily interpolated—of the *recentiores*. Rutherford, though a learned and talented scholar, was so little interested in the identities of MSS that in that discussion of interpolation, and even in the margin of his text itself where he lists their readings, he never names them. There is a certain freshness in this; yet it seems just as fatal to the analysis of interpolation as it would be to that of other corruption.

This decision to begin with the capital MSS is a choice of method; in addition, there are certain natural limits in the topic itself. On the one hand I shall exclude (with some exceptions) many hundreds of trivial "interpolations" that arose from variant readings, that themselves arose from mechanical error (see Ch. I on "types of interpolation"). On the other hand I exclude certain problems, about which a vast secondary literature has arisen, that pertain more to historical speculation than to textual criticism. For example, now and then, in this or that sentence that "Thuc. cannot have written" because it seems tautological, I consider the possibility that a first Editor conflated different drafts by Thuc. But I test this hypothesis *only on the level of the individual sentence* (where—as it happens—it never quite "works"), and not as it might affect larger masses of material (e.g. in books 5 and 8, where it may very well be true). The same applies to the "composition" problem as a whole; to possible "interpolation" of whole chapters (3.17, 3.84) or the documents in book 5; and to possible interference by later editors making book divisions.[16] These questions

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against a mere trickle in the preceding millenium, is a question for cultural historians to answer; but the fact itself will often emerge in this book.

[16] In short, such problems as are discussed by Andrewes in *HCT* V. App. I and II. See also (III) of the "typology" in Ch. I below.

3.17 and 3.84 would each require a separate chapter in a book like this. As regards 3.84 which I think authentic, I discuss only the scholium (see Ch. V, section 5), which is the sole objective evidence. As regards 3.17 which I also think authentic, I have little to add to Gomme's excellent discussion ad loc. (along with that of Adcock to which he refers). But I would add two small points about the rhythm and structure. (1) 3.17 arises naturally out of 3.16. Thuc. is plainly im-

of course overlap with mine, and if they could be answered would sometimes shed light on it. But they are each somewhat *sui generis*; they involve much historical speculation; and they pertain more to the work's origins than to the purity of its transmission. The present study is concerned with "hard evidence" about the nature and extent of Cobet's "manifesta emblemata." I try to sift the mass of smaller interpolations—none, I think, larger than a single sentence—that gradually accrued during the transmission of the text, from the causes outlined in Chapter I.

Plan of this Study

So many passages have been suspected, most often on poor grounds, that it would be impossible and self-defeating to discuss more than a few of them. At times one can only choose examples that seem clearest, or most instructive, and by means of them examine the principles involved. What I have done is this. Chapter I is a brief "typology," that outlines what seem the basic causes of interpolation in Thuc. MSS. Since in practise the various "types" overlap too much, the book itself is not organized according to them; but that seems itself a good reason to begin by sketching them.

In Chapter II I cite what seem the most certain instances of interpolation: those guaranteed by the fact that some capital MSS preserve the truth. For when the capital MSS offer alternative words or phrases, one can usually discern a false *lectio facilior*, and even when the right reading is not self-evident—as e.g. at 2.43.6, 2.46.2—we can usually still be certain that one of the two was interpolated. Thus, Chapter II is organized with reference to the divisions of the *stemma codicum*; and to make a foundation to which I could later add, I began by culling examples from the lists of significant readings in discussions of the stemma.[17] Here, the main purpose is to expose the

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pressed by the abnormally large naval operations of 428; but they disturb him and cause him to reflect about Athenian resources. The main point is that—as he thought at the time of writing—428 was the last time when the Athenians had so many ships afloat: for after 428 they had less money. Therefore he pauses to analyze the two main reasons. (2) Beginning with παραπλήσιοι δὲ . . . the chapter (in Gomme's interpretation) would be a digression, a Thucydidean "footnote" very in similar in kind to 2.13.3 τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα κτλ. which has also been thought interpolated (see on that sentence in Ch. V, section 2).

[17] E.g. by Marchant, Hude, Powell, Bartoletti, Hemmerdinger, Luschnat, Romilly,

nature and rough extent of such interpolation as appears quite certain; a second purpose is to show (what will sometimes be pertinent later) certain peculiarities of different MSS and MS families.

Chapters III–VII form a kind of unit in that I here examine one by one the main ways—other than MS disagreement, on the one hand, pure intuition on the other—by which we sense interpolation that has infected all MSS. In some of these chapters—e.g. on the evidence of an inscription, on the papyri—I cite all putative examples known to me; while in others—on "linguistic" evidence, on the "indirect" tradition, on Valla's translation—I discuss only what seems clearest, or most revealing about the method.

This methodological orientation, and this selectiveness in the choice of examples, is also evident in Chapter VIII, "Internal Evidence." This is the longest section of the book; even so, of the many possible examples known to me, I chose only those that seemed either certain or typical.

Chapter IX, on miscellaneous passages in Book 8, has the following *raison d'être.* When I had noticed that abnormally many of my best examples of passages falsely analyzed came from Book 8, I felt it might be instructive to keep some of them together. Book 8 is somewhat *sui generis*, in that (a) the MSS tend to preserve more readings from outside the Archetype; (b) it has unusually many crude mechanical errors by copyists, the effects of which resemble those of interpolation; and (c) the writing itself seems, from subtle hints that one must neither miss nor exaggerate, often somewhat "unfinished."

Chapter X on "mechanical interpolation" was conceived originally as an appendix. It was promoted to its present place when I began to sense that mechanical error is, perhaps, the root of most "interpolation" in Thuc. MSS (cf. Havet as quoted in Ch. I init.). Thus these crudest, most certain examples of it should all be gath-

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Dover, Kleinlogel and Alberti. Such lists are not specially concerned with interpolation, and so far as I can see, there would be no point in specifying in what list (or sometimes, in what apparatus) I noticed this or that example. This kind of "foundation" had at least two drawbacks: (A) such lists tend to ignore what is too problematical, and also, subtle corruption involving more than a mere phrase; and (B) stemmatists have paid special attention to 6.92.4–8.109, on the one hand, and to the early books, on the other. The first defect I have tried to repair (sections 9–11); but the relative neglect of books 3–5 seems reflected still. But perhaps (as, for example, Marchant says in Book 7 p. xli), early books really *have* a greater number of interpolations; while in 6.92.4–fin. we can, because of B^{II}, the papyri and the *Mi recentiores*, detect more.

ered in one place, and their causes analyzed as exactly as possible.

CHAPTER XI concerns the possibility of extensive, very early corruption which now is hidden from us. Though based as far as possible on facts, this chapter is frankly speculative (therefore, I put it last, not first); but I could not see how to avoid it, for I confront by this means the possible limitations of the entire study.

Throughout the book the reader may often find it helpful to consult the STEMMA DIAGRAM at the end which is taken from Alberti and Kleinlogel. On account of the extensive contamination—only some of which is shown by the dotted lines!—this coarse map of the main paths of truth and corruption is not always necessarily right. But very often this little tool "works"; and even where its positive help is minimal (see e.g. Ch. VI init., the remarks on Valla's place in the stemma), it helps us avoid certain simple blunders.

Of course there is overlapping between many of these makeshift divisions.[18] Also, inevitably, some large fish must have escaped this net. All I can say is that I have not *knowingly* excluded anything that seemed both clear and important, and that in addition I discuss many doubtful or trivial corruptions which I sensed could be the tip of an iceberg, or which others have suspected as being such. (For example, 2.78.1–2 and 7.69.2 where I myself would lean towards excision; 8.50.3 [Herwerden's excision] where I would not.)[19]

Perhaps a single example will suffice to show the sort of thing I deliberately omit from this study, as hopeless:

> 1.53.3 οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἶπον, τῶν δὲ Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ὅσον ἐπήκουσεν ἀνεβόησεν εὐθὺς λαβεῖν τε ἀυτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, οἱ δὲ ᾿Αθηναῖοι τοιάδε ἀπεκρίναντο . . .
>
> τὸ μὲν στρ. del Cobet (qui coni. ὅσοι . . . -αν . . . -αν): μὲν del. Krüger: τῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν Κερκυραίων στρατόπεδον coni. Croiset ("mais il n'est pas sûr que ce défaut de symétrie n'appartienne pas à T. lui-même")

[18] Above all, between Ch. II and the others. Not *every* passage in which interpolation is betrayed in part by MS disagreement is discussed in Ch. II; for at times, when such a passage seemed especially instructive about some general problem of method with the scholia, or with Valla, etc., I deferred citing it till later. Now and then, on the other hand, I cite or even discuss a passage more than once.

[19] To say it a different way: I end up discussing nearly all that Alberti brackets, since in fact he seldom fails to have some objective reason; I discuss much of what Poppo or Jones brackets since, even when they blunder, the mistake is usually instructive; while of Cobet's, Rutherford's or Marchant's myriad excisions, most are ignored: for they were made by those criteria which I try to expose as unsound, or quite unverifiable.

To me at least, the Greek does seem queer (there are three groups: but only two are contrasted μὲν . . . δὲ . . .); but all four explanations seem at least possibly right. For (1) τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον would not be a gloss but a conjecture, a crude prop meant to support ὅσον (already corrupt; cf. examples in Ch. I); yet (2) μὲν could have been repeated mechanically after a line of 35 letters (see other examples of this in Ch. X); yet (3) transposed words are common in the MSS, and Croiset's sentence is the shapeliest; yet (4) in Thuc.—though as one sees from (3), he could easily have avoided this here—we find many such asymmetries with particles.[20] The truth is now hidden from us, probably forever. "Quod vides perdisse, perditum ducas." In the study of a field so vast, complex and hard, the sentence is scarcely worth including since it might very well be sound, and since of each possible kind of corruption there are many much clearer, or more interesting, examples. All one can say is that since it supposes both greater corruption and greater boldness in the copyists, (1) is the least probable.

Cross-references and references

A CROSS-REFERENCE such as ". . . 5.22.2 (q.v.)" refers to the *Main Index Locorum*, which gives the page number(s) of the most important place(s) in which this passage is discussed or cited. Often, the same passage is *also* listed in the *Index of Passages Adduced for Comparison*. No doubt, there is some nuisance in this; but it seems less inconvenient than having but one large, very miscellaneous Index Locorum.

In several chapters—viz. in those that often refer to a few works—the first footnote is a "bibliographical note" of works listed alphabetically by author. This is given not only so that I can then refer, in that section, to some works by author and page number only, but

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[20] Classen: we have a contrast between excited mob and the leaders: but about the leaders there is *aposiopesis*. Morris, following Böhme and Shilleto: "That part of the Corcyrean force which was within hearing cried out . . . but the section which was formed of the Athenians said . . ."; he thinks 7.13.2 an exact parallel. Stahl followed by Maddalena: there are two antitheses, Corinthians versus Corcyreans, then Corcyreans versus Athenians; thus (presumably) μὲν is postponed to avoid τῶν δὲ μὲν Κερκ. or τῶν δὲ Κερκ. μὲν . . . None of this is quite convincing! Classen's ellipse seems too bold even for Thuc.; Morris' parallel 7.13.2 is invalid (see A.J. Graham *TAPA* 122 [1992] 257–270); and Stahl and Maddalena seem refuted by Croiset's sentence.

also for the sake of giving a select bibliography for that topic. (Thus, at times I there omit a work which I do later cite, but which is not a study of the topic itself; while on the other hand, I include a few works which I do not cite.)

As regards the TEXT OF THUC., that which I quote or cite most often—even if only to argue against it—is the Oxford edition of Jones with its apparatus by Powell. This is chiefly because, in spite of its mistakes and omissions, I most esteem this honest, sagacious text, and this laconic, accurate apparatus; but also because it is still more widely used than any other.[21]

All EDITIONS, COMMENTARIES, and TRANSLATIONS of Thuc., to which reference is made solely by author's name "ad loc."—i.e. all works for which no page number is given—are listed separately at the beginning of the Bibliography. Wherever an editor is cited whose edition is not listed in the Bibliography, his reading (or opinion, etc.) has come to me from the commentary or apparatus of another editor. (For very old editions this information tends to come either from Poppo—whose edition is a valuable kind of "anthology" of prior opinions—or from Arnold.)

For VALLA'S LATIN TRANSLATION I depend most often on quotations by G.B. Alberti, F. Ferlauto and M. Pade and others who used Vat. lat 1801 (the most authoritative copy, dated 1452), and checked these against a microfilm in the University of Pennsylvania of a different MS, Vat. I. VIII. 276 (dated 1475), from which I also took other readings.[22]

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[21] Jacqueline de Romilly's Budé edition is oddly the only complete *20th-century* critical edition of Thuc. yet, equally oddly, has failed to replace that of Jones-Powell. (See for example Canfora's edition of Book 1 [1983] p. 45, Rusten's of Book 2 [1989] p. 247, and Delebecque's of Book 8 [1967] p. 13: each, without explaining why, bases his text on that of Jones-Powell, giving a small list of changes.) One suspects that this is not so much because the Budé edition is less compact as because it carries less authority. Romilly was a literary critic of exceptional brilliance; in her text and notes, one finds the same energy and rigor, but not the brilliance. She most often exhibits a too extreme "conservatism," even in spite of the evidence. See especially on 2.96.3 (in Ch. II), also 5.47 (in Ch. III: compare her *Notice* to *Livre V*, and contrast Jones ad loc.).

[22] Vat. lat. 1801 has a note in Valla's own hand saying "idem ego Laurentius . . . subscripsi, ut esset hic codex meae translationis archetypus, unde cetera possent exemplaria emendari." Therefore recent scholars, beginning with R.J.W. Westgate in *TAPA* 67 (1936) 240–51, assume that this MS alone can be trusted. But it seems possible that, though perhaps the best copy, Vat. lat. 1801 is not in fact a true "archetype" and that, as is remarked by R. Pintaudi and M. Tesi in *Rinascimiento* 16 (1976) 216, what scholars need is not a printed edition of that MS, but a critical

Except when otherwise specified, all commentary by HUDE is from *Commentarii critici* ad loc.; on the other hand, his text is quoted always from the Editio Maxima of 1898 (books 1–4) and 1901 (books 5–8).[23] Commentary by HERWERDEN, when not specified, is either from *Studia Thucydidea* ad loc. or (more rarely) from his edition ad loc.[24] POPPO and STAHL are cited or quoted always from their own editions.[25]

MS Sigla, Etc.

Throughout this study, the now lost *Greek-letter exemplars* (i.e. the hypothesized hyparchetypes and collation exemplars discussed in Appendix V) are spelled out in English, *alpha*, *beta*, *beta 1*, etc. This

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edition which collates that and various others. Cf. E.B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography*, 89: other copies have marginalia, often very interesting, which certainly derive from Valla, but are absent from Vat. lat. 1801. I have noticed a few divergences, e.g. at 3.3.1 (quoted in App. IV) where Pade reports that the "Archetype" has "et cetera insula," but Vat. I. VIII.276 has correctly "ex cetera insula."

At 1.39.3–2.40.1, 2.16.1 and 2.42.4 I was able (through the kindness of Prof. A.J. Graham) to obtain the readings of a University of Cambridge library MS, catalogue no. 2017 Kk.iv.2 (brought to England in 1454; on this MS see Fryde, op. cit. 28, 89).

[23] This is the first of Hude's three complete editions of Thuc. As is shown by Luschnat (in his own 1960 preface pp. 5–9) two later, smaller editions (of 1901 and 1913/1925) are generally ignored yet show many changes of heart about particular readings: so that Hude has been somewhat unfairly judged. The trouble is that important editions of Thuc. are so many that most scholars—the present writer included—lack time consistently to consult every one of them. Unfortunately for Hude, the *Editio Maxima* with its huge, clear, abnormally accurate double apparatus, which no other has ever superseded, came first. (On its general accuracy see e.g. Luschnat ibid. 20–1. On Hude and the stemma, which he was the first to get basically right, see Appendix V, section 1.) As for *Commentarii critici*, that is an early work and a reader is always aware of its defects (see Hude's own apology, *Ed. max.* I. vii); but as will often be noticed, I think it valuable still.

[24] Herwerden's edition is "for use in schools": a fact which enabled him to make the most monstrous excisions with a minimum of commentary. Still, he there often uses the ellipse symbol, and admits defeat about many places which he had earlier tried to emend (see e.g. on 4.73.4).

[25] Unlike many recent commentators on Thuc.—e.g. Luschnat, Rusten, the *HCT*—I have not used Poppo-Stahl, both because it seems much inferior—more opinionated, less careful, and containing fewer and less attentive citations—than pure Poppo, and because one is never sure whose opinion one is getting.

In discussion of hard places in Thuc., even the most brilliant opinion tends to be wrong—as is clearly seen by everyone, once its freshness wears off. This fact Poppo, more than anyone else, understood perfectly; with the result that his giant compendium is still the best commentary.

seemed advisable for *alpha* and *beta*—since α and β seem too easily confused with later hands in the codd. A and B—and so for the others too, for the sake of consistency.[26]

Normally, the ORDER IN WHICH MSS ARE CITED is that in which they are presented from left to right on the stemma diagram, so that that will be easier to remember. Hence I list them C G M E F A B (C G being the hyparchetype *alpha*, M E F A B *beta*, F A B *delta* and A B *zeta*).

With the sigla of the CODICES RECENTIORES (on which again see Appendix V) one has endless difficulty. The current "system" of *sigla* is a consensus perfected by Kleinlogel and Alberti; but Kleinlogel has not edited Thuc., and so far Alberti has published only the first two books. And no modern apparatus to all of Thuc.—e.g. not even that to Hude's *Editio maxima*—even cites many of these MSS.[27] But since, for my purposes, they are now and then of great interest, I had to search in old editions such as Arnold's or Poppo's which do cite them. I compared their descriptions with those in Dain, who first assigned most of the present names and sigla; then compared these with those of Kleinlogel (*Geschichte* xiii–xiv) and Alberti (*Historiae* ix–xxxiv, clxxxix–cxcii). For the sake of the stemma diagram, I have tried consistently to use the present Kleinlogel-Alberti *sigla* (thus the

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Stahl's worst fault is that, for some reason, he constantly misreports the readings of capital MSS (especially of C—which he often simply ignores—and B!); his second worst is that he constantly deletes without trying to picture the corruption. In spite of this his edition remains valuable, on account of his exact honesty in facing difficulties, his lucidity and his great concision.

[26] Also, I confess that I find these Greek-letter *sigla*, used in place of words, ugly, except in monographs on the stemma where one expects them. And even there they foster oversights, of the kind exhibited by Steven Schierling in his study of certain recc. (*Revue d'histoire des textes*, vol. 11 [1981] 370–386): throughout the article he writes β when he means β¹.

Perhaps too the reader should here be warned that *Psi* is not identical with *psi*, nor *Xi* with *xi*, nor *Phi* with *phi*: capital letters refer to lost uncial MSS, small letters to lost but largely reconstructed miniscule MSS that derive from, or were collated with those. I make an exception for *Theta*, which has a capital letter as being the direct archetype.

[27] This was one unfortunate result of Bekker's brilliant demarcation of seven "capital MSS": see Appendix V, 1. A partial exception to the rule is J. de Romilly who now and then cites H, J, K and several other *recc.* That Powell's apparatus has always merely "recc." is somewhat odd, since it was he who first proved how valuable some of them are. Particularly puzzling is the first sentence of section 3 of his OCT preface [p. x], where he implies that good readings in the *recc.* are Byzantine conjectures. (Cf. Luschnat, Books 1–2, p. 18. Luschnat thought that except for a few *Xi* readings in the last two books, the *recc.* were purely derivative, and he imagined that Powell at last had come to see this!)

Poppo-Arnold "Lugd.," which Powell called **l**, I cite as **Pl**, their **h** as **H**, their **H** or "Cassellanus" as **S**, etc.); but in a few cases (e.g. at 4.77.11) I could not find the equivalent.

Manus recentiores in the capital MSS are a worse vexation. Here I could not even try for consistency: for not even Kleinlogel and Alberti use the same signs for the same hands, and some editors distinguish more finely between the different hands (e.g. Alberti most finely, then Kleinlogel, Powell least, and Hude in the middle). What is a "layman" to do? Wherever I think that this can be done without harmful ambiguity, I use Powell's most simple *sigla*; so that, for example, I write c for what Hude calls c_2, Kleinlogel C^2, Alberti C^3, etc.;[28] and wherever (not very often) I felt that this could lead to trouble, I follow the scholar in whose work I noticed the danger.[29]

Worse still than this is the situation with the Scholia. It was Powell (see the articles cited in Ch. V init.) who first showed just how misled one can be by editors including Hude (false lemmata, scholia truncated or mixed, variant readings printed by Aldus, then by Hude, as scholia, etc.). Most often—i.e. except when I have noticed a warning by Powell, Luschnat, Kleinlogel, Tosi or someone else—I simply rely on Hude.

All this is most regrettable! But unless a strange day arrives when some committee, using consistent *sigla* in a most minute apparatus, has edited all of Thucydides and all of the scholia, these problems must exist. In this book, I hope that one can usually see what hand or MS is meant; and I hope not to have committed many, if any, actual errors of analysis from such causes.

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28 Certain fine distinctions I ignore nearly throughout. In Alberti's system (but not in Kleinlogel's), C^2 and C^3 are in fact different hands; but since Alberti shows that both collated with the same exemplar, the potential mischief in uniting them, at least in those passages which I discuss, seems minimal.

29 E.g. at 1.40.1 (Ch. VIII, 5 ad fin.), where the combination c G m would imply a *Phi* reading: there, following Alberti, I specify M^4, because he says elsewhere (*Historiae* clxxii) that that scribe collated with G, and he shows elsewhere (ibid. ciii–civ) that a c G reading *might* have come from *alpha*. Naturally, I cannot hope to have noticed every such potential error; for I paid special attention only where (as here) the stemma seemed really illuminating.

CHAPTER ONE

BASIC "TYPES" OF INTERPOLATION IN THUC. MSS

As was said in the introduction, this book is structured without reference to any "typology" of interpolation; and beyond this, I eschew any but the most cautious historical speculations (see especially Ch. VII init., IX init., XI passim). As will become clear, this is not because I am blind to the necessity of trying to imagine, whenever possible, exactly what happened in a particular case. But in the capital MSS of Thuc., the different "types" of interpolation seem relatively few; and in practice they overlap so much, or become in a given case so doubtful, that the attempt to organize the entire work by types would be self-defeating.[1]

But for just this reason, it is best to begin by sketching what seem the most basic historical causes of interpolation in Thuc. MSS. They are worth bearing in mind even somewhat abstractly, and though I must here anticipate some of the results of this study.[2]

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[1] See e.g. R.J. Tarrant, "Toward a Typology of Interpolation in Latin Poetry," *TAPA* 117 (1987) 281–298. Every word of this is interesting; but, as Tarrant says himself (287), "textual criticism is a study of individual cases." Of his five or six basic types of interpolation, two appear scarcely if at all in Thuc. MSS (i.e., as I think, only in the heads of fanciful editors: see [III] of my own list of 'Basic Types' below); and the others are often hard to contradistinguish in particular cases.

On kinds of interpolation in Greek and Latin prose, see most generally Madvig, *Adversaria Critica* I. 62–93, from which I shall quote below. Inevitably, some of his examples are doubtful (e.g. a misreading of Strabo, cited in this study s.v. 1.134.4); most are good, and the discussion itself is lucid, sound and full of tact. The same cannot be said of the two longest studies of Thucydidean interpolation, that of Rutherford (Rutherford, Book 4, xxxi–lix) and that of W.R.M. Lamb in *Clio Enthroned* (Cambridge 1914) 282–305. These are stimulating—especially Rutherford's, on account of his experience with scholiasts—but far too impressionistic, and full of bad examples. The same seems true of Jachmann's *Binneninterpolation* (on which see below).

Surely feasible, and very valuable to all Classicists, would be a kind of handbook on interpolations in ancient texts: a reference work akin to some (e.g. Havet's) that already exist for corruption in general, but concerning only this topic and having different contributors for different authors. It should also have an appendix in which are quoted the best general remarks by earlier critics such as Madvig.

[2] Note that in order both to put this tradition in perspective and to avoid repetition, I deliberately take most examples from other authors. Still, each example is chosen for its resemblance to what we find, or strongly suspect, in Thuc. MSS. I

I shall make a broad division between "unconscious" and "conscious" interpolation (types [I] and [II] below). I do this for the sake of theoretical clarity; but in practise, the two phenomena will often be seen to overlap. For the vast majority of interpolations were caused simply (as I sense) by the bad old habit of writing notes in margins and between lines; and throughout this chapter, and indeed this book, one should keep in mind Louis Havet's excellent description (*Manuel de critique verbale*, 422–3):

> Une surcharge donne lieu à des traitements divers. Le copiste qui l'a sous les yeux peut, suivant l'inspiration du moment, la considérer soit comme une annotation, soit comme une correction; donc, de plusieurs copistes qui opèrent sur une même surcharge de leur modèle, les uns n'en tiendront pas compte, les autres la feront passer dans leur texte. Parmi ces derniers, les uns y verront un insérende, les autres un substituende. Certains copistes, n'osant pas prendre sur eux d'apprécier la nature de la surcharge, l'écriront dans l'interligne, telle que la présente déjà leur modèle; ils laisseront la décision à leurs successeurs, qui les imiteront s'ils n'ont pas plus de courage.[3]

I. There is UNCONSCIOUS INTERPOLATION from:

(1) *Marginal or interlinear variant readings*, most of which had arisen by purely mechanical error. (Except in cases of special stemmatic interest, or except when they illustrate especially well some other problem of method, small "interpolations" having this obvious cause are ignored in this study.)

(2) *Marginal, or interlinear, "glosses"* in the strict sense.[4] I.e., "synonyms" for individual words, which readers had written between lines or in the margins, were copied into the text by mechanical error.[5]

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here sketch *only* Thucydidean interpolation, and confine to the notes my awareness that other traditions exhibit (especially in verse; cf. the notes to III below) more and grosser interpolation.

[3] This I think a truer, more exact description of the psychology of *interpolation* than is that of Paul Maas quoted in n. 18 below.

[4] Cf. Madvig 62–3. But in general, I will not confine the word "gloss" to this strict sense, but like many scholars will use it more loosely to include type I.3. For in practice the two types are hard to separate; and the word "adscript" which Rutherford, to some extent, popularized, seems *too* abstract.

[5] Some, if not most, students of interpolation seem to assume the opposite, that each intrusive gloss was inserted deliberately. Of course, this may have happened now and then. But in my own strong impression (well expressed by Havet as quoted above), a *lectio facilior* is rarely invented by the copyist, but he either incorporates it mechanically from interlinear or marginal notes, or he takes it from such notes (or from scholia) as seem to offer him a choice of texts. I shall often return to this question; one's answer to it depends partly on one's ideas about the nature of

There they either replaced the word being glossed or stood beside it, or even blended with it (see below), or were connected with it by καί. (The latter event seems—pace Ruthcrford op. cit. xxxiv–xxxv—very rare; but cf. e.g. on 4.118.9.)

Those words were glossed that seemed either ambiguous (e.g. personal pronouns) or beyond the average reader's, or even the lazy reader's, knowledge; e.g. proper names, all words that seemed archaic, arcane, unusually used. But very often these notes, like many of the extant scholia, are so puerile that one does seem to see Cobet's *Magistellus* annotating for Byzantine, or Hellenistic, school children.

This banal phenomenon need scarcely be illustrated here in advance; but from Douglas Young's lists of errors in Pindar and Aeschylus MSS, I take two examples that show just how—and how oddly—the gloss gets into the text.[6] At Aesch. *Ag.* 152–3,

νεικέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον
οὐ δεισήνορα. μίμνει γὰρ φοβερὰ (κτλ.),

cod. V has συμμενεῖ φυτόν for σύμφυτον, thus incorporating μένει which had been written between lines over μίμνει. At Pindar *P* 5.62 "T writes for μὴ ταμίᾳ the curious mixture μὴ τὰ τῷ μία, having wrongly copied in from its antigraph the article τῷ added over ταμίᾳ." Cf. similar curiosities at Thuc. 2.21.3, 2.22.3, 4.108.6, 5.16.2, 7.73.1, 8.38.3, 8.51.2, 8.76.3 cited later in this study.[7]

Certain kinds of presumably very old gloss-like interpolation, that to Cobet, Herwerden and Rutherford seemed plain as day, are largely ignored in this book, as being quite impossible to prove or disprove in any particular case. Whether—again and again, so that it colors our whole impression of Thucydides' style, and so distorts our judgement—an elliptical μᾶλλον was promptly supplied with ἢ πρότερον (ctc.), or αὐτός with a proper name, or a proper name with ὁ Ἀθηναῖος

Hellenistic and Byzantine "editing" (which I think extremely conservative; for a summary, see Ch. XI). Cf. also West, *Textual Criticism*, p. 22.

[6] Young, *GRBS* 5 (1964) 85–99 (on errors in Aeschylus MSS: I quote here from p. 95) and *GRBS* 6 (1965) 247–73 (errors in Pindar MSS: I quote from p. 271). These careful lists of errors, arranged by type, are abnormally valuable because they consist of peculiar errors in extant MSS, which are corrected by other MSS. (I.e. there is a minimum of speculation by Young. Few scholars have patience for such labor.) Similarly valuable is Wyse's introduction to Isaeus to which I refer below.

[7] Significantly, perhaps, in view of its precariousness and great corruption, the MS tradition of Aeschylus is notorious for such "intrusive glosses": cf. the studies cited in Ch. V, section 4.

or ὁ στρατηγός, or even τὰ ἐν Πλαταίᾳ γενόμενα with τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων (2.19.1—q.v.), cannot be known now.

(3) *Explanatory paraphrases of the meaning* where that had seemed difficult in grammar, diction or idiom. These notes, mechanically incorporated, resemble those of the extant "scholia," which in fact have now and then intruded. They are akin to (2) above but longer; also fragmented; thus also conveniently—for modern critics, who excise difficult pieces of text on this pretext—opaque. Nineteenth-century critics—especially, the otherwise excellent Stahl—used to imagine such notes as intruding everywhere into the text of Thuc. In fact the evidence suggests that in the capital MSS of this tradition, the phenomenon is rare.

But see e.g. on 7.58.3, 8.68.2 and the examples from the E copyist quoted below Ch. II init.[8] And since it does happen, I add here a good example from Aischines, worth citing because of its certainty, since it is confirmed both by a division within the MSS and by a papyrus. At *Ctes.* 24 two of the three MS groups, B and C, incorporate the words which I bracket. They were deleted as an intrusive marginal note by Bekker and subsequent editors (following the MS group A); the three additional words printed here in boldface are retained by some editors as a title:

> καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς καὶ ἐν τίνι ἡμέρα καὶ ἐν ποία ἐκκλησία ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν [ὅτι μεσοῦντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν στεφανοῦν. ἀναγίνωσκε (vel ἀναγιγνώσκετε)] **διαλογισμὸς τῶν ἡμέρων** (δ.τ.ἡμ. om. B) (I.e. ". . . [because it was while he was still in office that (Ctesiphon) introduced the proposal to crown him. Read.] Reckoning of the days"

But of the A group e has—presumably for a title—only ψήφισμα (so Blass), and kl omit the title as well as the preceding clause. In P.Oxy. 1625 a lacuna begins here; but by counting the missing lines, Grenfell and Hunt perceived that like the A manuscripts it was free of this addition.

II. Then there is CONSCIOUS INTERPOLATION, of two basic kinds, of which the first is fairly rare and less important:

[8] For three examples in Isaeus MSS, see Wyse *The Speeches of Isaeus* p. xl. Of course, although the phenomenon is rare, one foolish copyist, strategically placed, can affect a whole tradition. For a particularly spectacular example, see the incorporated scholia in Diogenes Laertius, noticed in Renehan, *Greek Textual Criticism* 38–40.

(1) *Deliberate insertion of aids for the reader*: e.g. very probably the speaker-headings in the Melian dialogue (see on 5.84); perhaps the "explanatory" last sentence in book 8 (see on 8.109.2); and conceivably at times the so-called "signature"—καὶ (. . .) ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκιδίδης ξυνέγραψεν—which may have been inserted to mark Hellenistic book divisions.[9] Then

(2) "*Emendations*" by copyists and correctors of passages that seemed to them, and sometimes indeed were, corrupt; including (A) *alteration of authentic text* and (B) *additions to the text*. As was said earlier, alteration of existing words (most often of inflections) is largely ignored in this study. Deliberate additions tend to be small; they most often occur when someone fails to understand the construction, and tries to clarify it, not always happily, by inserting some particle, connective, preposition, noun, verb or pred. adj. (Again—conceivably this or that such addition was not invented by a copyist or his Corrector, but by some prior reader—i.e., it is not "conscious interpolation": I shall later return to this question.)

I take from Madvig (*Adv. crit.* I. 85–8) some simple instances which seem certain and which closely resemble those that we shall find, and suspect, in Thuc. MSS. At Plutarch *Alcib.* 35 μεγάλη γὰρ οὖσα (sc. ἡ δόξα, the renown of Alcibiades) καὶ τόλμης καὶ συνέσεως **[γέμουσα]**, someone plainly failed to see that the first καὶ is not a connective and that the genitives are objective, governed by δόξα. A similar thing occurs in the next chapter of this same work (*Alcib.* 36): τῶν δὲ μισούντων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Θρασύβουλος ὁ Θράσωνος **[ἐχθρὸς]** ὢν ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας κατηγορήσων. Madvig remarks "itane vero? Thrasybulusne inimicus erat eorum, qui Alcibiadem oderant?" What gave trouble here was the partitive genitive with ὢν, and the corrector wanted a predicate. In both cases, as often elsewhere, "clarity" is achieved at the price of tautology. At times, the myopia involved in this tidying up can be almost incredible;[10] at other times, these small changes are specially vexing, being now nearly invisible.

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[9] On this last possibility I have nothing to add to the sceptical summary of Andrewes (*HCT* V 390–1); except that the purely *stylistic* objections of Herwerden, Rutherford and others to some instances of the sentence seem to me hard to answer (see Rutherford, Book IV lvii–lviii).

[10] See for example Ch. II, 1 on the E copyist; also Ch. II, 2 on 8.91.1. Perhaps the most amazing myopia is in an E scholium at 8.89.1 (q.v.), where the text φοβούμενοι δέ, ὡς (ἀδεῶς AEFM) ἔφασαν is glossed ἀδεῶς· ἀφόβως. Rubbish like this is *not* normal, but it does exist.

Elsewhere the text had already become corrupt and a crude stop-gap is meant to mend it. Thus Plutarch *Them.* 2 ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς μὲν ἠθοποιοὺς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζομένας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἐξεμάνθανε, τῶν δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἢ πράξιν λεγομένων δῆλος ἦν **[οὐχ]** ὑπερορῶν παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὡς τῇ φύσει πιστεύων. What Plutarch wrote was ὑπερερῶν. These three insights of Madvig's have been accepted by later editors; why the following has not been, I cannot imagine (Plut. *Pyr.* 22: the king has wondered whether he should concentrate on Greek, Italian or Sicilian matters:) εἶτα τοῖς Σικελικοῖς μειζόνων ὑποκεῖσθαι πραγμάτων δοκούντων, **<τῷ>** Λιβύης ἐγγὺς εἶναι **[δοκούσης]**, ἐπὶ ταῦτα τρέψας Κινέαν μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψε προδιαλεξόμενον.[11]

In these examples, of course, "emendation" was clumsy. Insofar as it was skilfull, it is now hidden from us; or even if we sense its presence, we cannot prove it.[12] On account of the risks involved, all of these conditions should be met by modern conjecture: (a) The mechanics of the original error must be clear. (b) The interpolator's (or annotator's) motive must be intelligible. (c) The gain in sense, or in concinnity, given by emendation should be drastic. (d) The change should be demonstrably towards, not away from, that which is "Thucydidean." Conjectures that ignore the first two of these conditions, especially, are nearly always wrong.

Naturally, not all deliberate additions were made for grammatical reasons. The following odd example is not quite certain, yet probable, and worth quoting here, because there are not many examples as sure as this, of a certain too conscientious kind of Byzantine "textual criticism." At *Ctes.* 15 Aischines is quoting the law concerning mag-

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11 Both the Loeb (B. Perrin) and the Budé editors (Flaelière and Chambry) abstain from translating δοκούσης, even though—like Ziegler (Teubner 1971)—they print it. It seems impossible alike on grounds of style and—since "nihil erat certius aut notius" than Sicily's proximity to Africa—of sense. Nor could anything be clearer than the *homoiotes* that must have caused omission of τῷ.

12 Part of the reason why Byzantine conjectures are generally so despised is that we cannot *see* any but the clumsiest of them. A Byzantine Bentley would have small chance of being detected by us. Among Thuc. *recentiores* (especially the *xi* MSS and above all H^2 and Pl^3) skilful, or at least clever, emendation is often suspected. (See e.g. Luschnat *Historiae* 17–19; his warning is worth reading, even though about some of the MSS in question he was proven wrong.) For the fact that some of these scholars were sagacious, we have scraps of real evidence; see e.g. Thomas Magister quoted by Herwerden at 8.89 (q.v.), or the scholiast at 1.144.2 (q.v.); cf. certain astute Byzantine emendations that Wyse detects in Isaeus MSS (Wyse, *The Speeches of Isaeus* xxxiv). For emendation less astute but still nearly invisible, see my next example below.

istrates being called to account; the manuscripts have (my emphasis):

> . . . "καὶ λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογίστας", καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κελεύει. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς ὑμῖν **ἀναγνώσεται**·

But P.Oxy. 1625 has . . . πρὸς τοὺς [ϊ.] λογίστας, and this seems to expose an interpolation.[13] In order to explain what happened, the papyrus editors point to the noun at Ch. 124: ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω **ἀναγνώσεται** ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα (del. Blass, qui ἀνάγνωθι legit cum cod. **e**), and to a scholium here at Ch. 15: (written on the margin of a printed book, source unknown): γραμματέα λέγει τὸν εἰωθότα ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τὰ τοῦ δήμου γράμματα ἀναγιγνώσκειν. As the editors say, this is not good support for the MS text, since "the *grammateus* who read the laws etc. in the Assembly was quite a different kind of official from the *logistai*, and not likely to have been specially concerned with *euthunai*." (They compare ch. 20, where MSS and papyrus both have: Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν βούλην τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ **ἐγγράφειν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς ὁ νόμος κελεύει λόγον καὶ εὐθύνας διδόναι.**) The scholium refers, apparently, to ἀναγνώσεται which must once have been followed by ὁ γραμματεύς, as at ch. 124; and the interpolation arose precisely from this (or some similar) scholium; for it seems to have caused some corrector to look for a place in which to put τὸν γραμματέα (acc.)!

In addition, (III) MISCELLANEOUS POSSIBILITIES for which there is, in my judgement, no good evidence.

(1) *Long Conjectural Additions* to a text that seemed incomplete: additions akin to those in some of the examples given above, but with the important difference that *entire clauses* are invented. This does occur in MSS of Greek and Latin verse; I have never seen a quite convincing prose specimen, and think it nonexistent in Thuc. MSS (cf. Ch. VIII, 5 on 1.39.3, the view of Croiset-Hude-Alberti).[14]

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[13] The iota with the diaeresis, which the scribe crossed out, probably has no bearing on the present question. Grenfell and Hunt doubt whether the number 10 was meant.

[14] It is as if readers of verse felt a keener need to tie up loose ends; but of course also, because of the meter, *their* supplement has to be at least a whole line. Cf. Renehan, *Greek Textual Criticism* 28–9 (whole lines inserted in Euripides by people unacquainted with elliptical ἀλλ' ὅμως), and for a huge variety of Latin examples (some not very certain) Tarrant in Grant (ed.) *Greek and Latin Texts* 127–162 passim.

(2) *Conflation of different author's drafts* by the first redactor. A thing that seems theoretically possible—given the occasional rough writing and the overlapping in this unfinished ξυγγραφή—especially in Books 5 and 8; but as was said in the Introduction, in each particular sentence for which editors propose it (always on account of tautology), it seems improbable. See on 2.78.1, 5.22.2, 8.66.3, 8.68.2, 8.71.1, 8.71.4–5 and for book 8 in general, the introduction to Ch. IX.

(3) *Incorporation of "parallel" passages or expressions, either from Thuc. or from other authors*, that presumably had been written in the margin. Again, the phenomenon is not rare in verse, but in Thuc. MSS I can discern no evidence of it.[15]

(4) *Rewriting for stylistic reasons*. What Jachmann called *Egalisierungsucht* and Carlini "analogous simplification"; that is, certain Alexandrian διασκευασταί deliberately—"mit Wesensart und Methode"—rewrite sentences (or phrases) so that they will be in formal symmetry with other sentences (or phrases), and so produce their own purified "edition" of our text.[16] Of this I can find in Thuc. MSS no evidence, and I think that if it does elsewhere exist in prose MSS, it should be rare. Since Thuc. commentators do now and then raise the question, it seems best here to explain my general extreme scepticism. Most of Jachmann's prose examples resemble mere dittography; elsewhere, one suspects a simple-minded gloss that was mechanically incorporated.[17] But in any case it is impossible to understand the

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Often, critics of prose texts seem unconsciously to appeal to these examples, but they should not.

[15] For sure examples in Greek verse see Renehan, *Greek Textual Criticism* 33–7; for Latin verse, E. Courtney, "Quotation, Interpolation, Transposition," *Hermathena* 143 (1987) 7–18. Naturally, such interpolation would be much harder to detect in prose, but it seems also much rarer; and in Thuc. MSS none of the putative evidence is convincing. See e.g. on 3.84 (Ch. V, 5). As regards the supposed "fragment of Anaxagoras" detected at 2.77.4 by W.M. Calder III (*CQ* 34 [1984] 485–6), I agree with Rusten ad loc. I would add two things: (1) a similar passage from Lucretius adduced by Calder proves nothing whatsoever. (As it happens, we know from other passages that Lucretius read Thuc.; and if we had not this knowledge, the resemblance here would still prove nothing.) And (2) even if the thought is "Anaxagorean," still, why on earth must that mean that Thuc. did not entertain it?

[16] Jachmann, *Platontext* 234 ff., Carlini *Studi* 12 ff. As regards Alexandrian "editions" (on which see Ch. XI passim), surely Classical scholarship would benefit from a moratorium on all loose, resonant talk about them. See above all the excellent, scathing remarks of W.F. Slater in Grant (ed.) *Editing Greek and Latin Texts* (Toronto 1989) 58–9.

[17] Particularly unfortunate is Jachmann's prize specimen at Isocr. *Paneg.* 70, where P.Oxy. V. 844 (early ii A.D.) has an interpolated clause of which he says, "Einem solchen Befund gegenüber dürfte die hergebrachte Ausrede von 'Randbemerkung',

psychology of this theory. What is plausible? It is easy to imagine *any* reader making, between lines or in the margin, even the silliest attempt at symmetry, which then a thoughtless copyist incorporates. It is surely harder to imagine that Greek "correctors" of any era could actually rewrite a prose text, since it defies too much else that we know of them. But that (as Carlini thinks) Alexandrian "editors" should have done it seems impossible. Against this is not only the general conservatism of our texts, of which the present study will give abundant proof, but also their very corruption. For even in the *Phaedo* (to which both theorists appeal), against every place that may seem to bear marks of such emendation, there are two dozen places where ancient Correctors visibly abstained from correcting much worse offenses against "elegance." This purely negative argument seems to me quite decisive.[18]

(4) *Parody or Rivalry* by a playful reader. This again, though Tarrant detects it passim in Latin verse, seems absent from Thuc. MSS, a fantasy of modern scholarship; on the nature of the "evidence" for it see on 4.63.1, 1.39.3–1.40.1.

FURTHER REMARKS. It will be noticed that, if the foregoing summary is accurate, we should expect the great majority of interpolations to be brief, and fairly easy to explain.

As should be clear by now, it is in practice hard and also at times pointless to distinguish between these types (i.e. the types in [I] and

die irrtümlich in den Text 'eingedrungen' ist, am Ende verstummen" (Jachmann, *Binneninterpolation* 137). On the contrary, though I stare, all I can discern is a paraphrase of 74, now so corrupt that its purpose is no longer discernible, that was mechanically interpolated in 70. Jachmann seems simply to forget that, prior to this intrusion, there was *no* verbal resemblance between the two passages. Like the Petrie papyri of Plato, P.Oxy. 844 is one of those relatively rare, heavily interpolated "wild" papyri (cf. the introduction of Grenfell and Hunt, p. 293) that resulted chiefly from crude, unintelligent copying.

[18] A shade too paranoid, to my taste, is even Paul Maas's careful definition of interpolation (*Textual Criticism* p. 14): "... interpolations, i.e. the class of alterations (mostly insertions) which is due not to accident but is an attempt to restore the original or actually to represent forged matter as original, by a conscious but not openly admitted interference with the tradition. Alterations of this kind are particularly dangerous" etc. As was pointed out above, this is true at times of verse. If we apply it to prose texts, it seems right insofar as it means, merely, some phenomena described in (II) of the above typology (e.g. at Aisch. *Ctes.* 15). Still, it seems a bit misleading. As I have just said, the relative insignificance of such "conscious interference" seems indicated by the *huge number of crudities ignored by it* even in the same passages where it has been posited. For more "positive" arguments against this hypothesis, see Ch. XI passim; also on 3.84.

[II] for which there is firm evidence). Notice that, for example, *what actually happened* in such a passage as the first from Plutarch quoted above (viz. *Alcib.* 35) is hidden from us. For although γέμουσα may be a pure addition by a bold, officious copyist, it might also have arisen as a reader's foolish, "explanatory" prop in the margin, or in a bad "scholium" of the type noticed by Cobet as quoted above pp. xi and xv; and a scribe may either have copied it mechanically or (as in Havet quoted at the beginning of this chapter) thought he had a choice of readings. All that is *certain* is that someone, at some time, misunderstood the construction, and that this eventually resulted in interpolation. Here, if we had to choose, we might plausibly posit some bold Corrector. But this kind of person is relatively rare;[19] and to get in the habit of seeing him is dangerous; for often, when corruption becomes complex as in several of the above examples, this image can blind one fatally to what really happened.

What is needed, then, is a kind of attentive *ars nesciendi.* It is enough to have differentiated the types and to bear each of them always in mind as a possibility. In doing so, one should remember four other coarse, general points, for which evidence will later be given.

(1) One gets a strong impression that much of the worst corruption is very old, antedating both the scholia and the papyri.[20] Whenever there were any, I have noted clues to the dates of particular corruptions; but there are not many; and as regards this or that type of corruption, the evidence does not seem to favor any particular period. For example, one tends to think of the briefer, cruder one-word glosses as "Byzantine," yet a great many interpolations from this cause seem to antedate the papyri (Ch. VII fin.).

(2) Thucydidean scribes of all periods, though from tiredness or boredom they commit their share of blunders, seem basically arch-conservative. No doubt, this might have been so in some eras more than in others; but in simple fact, they sometimes preserved unchanged for centuries what they knew to be corrupt (see e.g. on 2.43.6), or found improbable, or even quite opaque. This basic conservatism can itself result in tiny, cautious interpolations, as in our own editions; but one should constantly remember it.[21] As a result of this,

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[19] For an important possible exception, see Ch. II s.v. "Interpolation in B²."

[20] See chapters V (1), VII, XI. For Greek authors generally, cf. Madvig, *Adv. Crit.* I. 78–9. Cf. also the impressions of E.G. Turner quoted in Ch. XI.

[21] Paradigmatic in this respect is 5.77, where copyists preserved many Doric forms that they plainly found quite senseless. If one studies, in particular, *all* the variants

(3) the MS tradition is sometimes, for whole passages, at base astonishingly sound; and it is so even where modern scholars find it impossible (see above all Ch. III).

Further (4) when a passage *is* plainly corrupt, one should not at once posit interpolation, but bear in mind the more *constant presence of other kinds of corruption.* For on the one hand, even the tiniest mechanical error can result in a text that seems "glossed" just because it has too many nouns, verbs, etc. To give a striking instance, 8.46.2 once appeared to have too many predicates, of which I underline the less convincing one, which Krüger took for a gloss ("könnte Glossem sein"): εὐτελέστερα δὲ <u>τὰ δεινὰ</u> βραχεῖ μορίῳ τῆς δαπάνης καὶ ἅμα μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας αὐτοὺς περὶ ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατατρῖψαι. But as Madvig, Classen and Krüger's better self saw independently, what Thuc. wrote is τάδ' εἶναι. Such insights come in a lucky moment; but meanwhile, after reciting the verse *quis? quando? quibus auxiliis? cur? quomodo? quare?*, one can refrain from positing a glossator who is impossible to imagine. This mistake by Krüger caused Madvig (*Adv. Crit.* I.64) to remark "interdum etiam homines alioquin prudentes sic se molestis verbis liberare student ut oblivisci videantur scribas simplices quidem illos homines fuisse, sed tamen sanae mentis."

Two further examples may illustrate the problem. In the first I print the right text but put in boldface the words that confused our "homines simplices": 2.94.1 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐς τὸν **Πειραιᾶ** ᾤοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσπεπλευκέναι ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ **Πειραιεῖ** τήν τε Σαλαμῖνα ᾑρῆσθαι κτλ. Here the c_2 copyist's eye skipped ahead; conversely, the E copyist skipped backwards, but an E-Corrector then "emended": Πειραιᾶ] litt. ει in litura c_2 || Πειραιεῖ] Πειραια αει E, in Πειραιᾶ ἀεὶ

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listed by Hude and others for 5.77.4, one sees that each change ventured was tiny, cautious, wistful. Many different stages of corruption intervened between the original document and the bold, plausible nonsense given by some MSS, and there was no bold Corrector. (See on that sentence in Ch. III n. 6. For some of the variants there see Hude's *Editio maxima* ad loc.; but see also Arnold ad loc., Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 78, 140, Hemmerdinger *Essai* 40, etc.—as often no one gives the whole truth.)

At the end of Young's study of errors in Pindar MSS (271 ff.), he examines a small number of plainly very ancient readings which he thinks could be author's variants, piously preserved. Apropos of the *v.l.* φιλέοντι δὲ Μοῖσαι at *O* 227 he says, "Whatever the source of the error, it is a proof of the conservatism of copyists that it should have survived past the age of the Tzetzes brothers."

Here is another good remark of his. In his study of Aeschylus MSS (op. cit. 96) he says that the paradosis was fairly pure of editors till Triclinius, "who was about as irresponsible as many scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Iron Age of Aeschylean corruption."

corr. e![22] In a way, the next example is even odder. For here I print the readings from truth to increasing falsehood with the result that, contrary to what is normal, the MSS are cited in exact reverse chronological order: 7.30.2 ὁρμισάντων ἔξω τοξεύματος τὰ πλοῖα] *extra ictum sagittarum* Valla, τοξεύματος K (recte): τοῦ ξεύματος H (corr. in τοξεύματος H¹): τοῦ ξεύματος BG: τοῦ ζεύγματος CMEFA.[23]

Now, in such places corruption is small and local, so that a misdiagnosis by modern scholars would do little harm. But in these same examples one may sense a greater danger. Far too often it happens that where critics seem to see in the text a long paraphrase that "crept in from the margin," *part* of what supposedly "crept in" is corrupt but authentic text, and the rest—though interpolated—was never a paraphrase but is precisely some small, crude stop-gap such as these, which a copyist inserted to mend that corruption (compare e.g. 2.96.3 discussed in Ch. I).

Lastly, in view of all this, it is important never to forget certain demonstrable travesties of justice by intelligent jurors, who in condemning words or whole clauses were utterly sure of their evidence. I end this survey with several fine fat specimens given by A.C. Clark, in his book about a certain old Cicero MS investigated by him.[24] Paris Lat. 14.749, to which he assigns the siglum Σ, was long neglected; but from it, as Clark shows, were derived some other MSS commonly used by editors; and it vindicated at least five supposed long interpolations, of which I here quote two:

Pro Caelio 49 "ut non solum meretrix *sed etiam proterva meretrix* procaxque videatur" Σ (et S W): om. cett. As Clark says, "the omission is so obviously due to the repetition of 'meretrix' [cf. below, note 26] that Halm should not have remarked 'lectio non ex cod. aliquo integriore deducta est, sed pro supplemento prudentis alicuius Itali habenda.'"[25]

Ibid. 35 "si ea quae *facis, quae dicis, quae insimulas, quae moliris, quae*

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[22] This same passage was otherwise, more seriously corrupted (see in Ch. III). The three mistakes noted here, all 'caused' by one *homoiotes* (i.e. similarity of letters), are banal and typical of Thuc. MSS (see Ch. X passim).

[23] This illustrates the value of the *recentiores*. Notice too that despite four centuries of corruption (or rather, 1500 years of corruption, since the true *Xi* reading is that old) the change is small; the copyists, "conservative" enough to preserve nonsense.

[24] Clark, The *Vetus Cluniacensis of Poggio* (Oxford 1905), a book much admired by Ed. Fraenkel (*JRS* 42 [1952] 311); I quote from pp. xxxiii–xxxiv. The MS of Clark's title is now lost; he reconstructs it from the MSS from which I quote below.

[25] Note that Halm's mistake is no worse than that of Thucydidean editors who at 8.32.1 (q.v.) reject the reading of B: καὶ χειμασθεισῶν καὶ τῶν πλανειθεισῶν.

arguis, quae probare cogitas." Σ has this; its own exemplar for this speech, P, had omitted it (leaving a line and a half blank), but the Σ copyist collated with a lost exemplar. Editors, ignorant of Σ, mistrusted the supplement of P^2 which has "facis, quae dicis, quae in sororem tuam moliris, quae argumenta," and that of W which blends P^2 and Σ (for it has "quae insimulas" from Σ but "argumenta" from P^2).

Some of these disagreements do seem "creative"—but are in fact stop-gaps. As was said above, Σ is here copied basically from P (9th c.); but where P has blank spaces, Σ has supplements probably from the Cluniacensis. We seem to have two different attempts to decipher that now lost MS, which was much damaged (as Clark shows e.g. x–xii). I suppose that P^1 omitted—leaving blank space, for the Corrector to fill—perhaps two lines, that had words unintelligible from physical damage and/or abbreviations. Thus:

(Σ:) . . . si ea quae
FACIS QUAE DICIS QUAE INS-IMU (24)[26]
LAS QUAE MOLIRIS QUAE ARGU-IS (24)
quae probare cogitas

(P^2:) . . . si ea quae
FACIS QUAE DICIS QUAE INS-ORO-
REM TUAM MOLIRIS QUAE ARGU-MENTA
quae probare cogitas

But Halm denounced the whole supplement as "pannus intolerabilis." According to Clark, only C.F.W. Müller here "showed his usual independence," remarking, "Has ineptias non esse excogitatas ab aliquo grammatico per se patere crederem, nisi refellerer ab edd."[27]

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[26] With the line-length of c. 24 letters(?), cf. the lacuna cited above ("sed etiam proterva meretrix": 24); cf. also *Pro Caelio* 24: Σ fills a lacuna of 46 letters.

No doubt, it was some such trouble as this that resulted in the variants at the notorious crux, Prop. 2.30.19. And must we not suppose, more generally, that at least *one* of the problems with Propertius was an old codex as hard to read as this Cluniacensis?

[27] With this compare e.g. Thuc. 1.39.3, 4.63.1 (Ch. VIII, 5); cf. also 4.16.1 (Ch. X, 3). It cannot be too much insisted that, in such cases, the burden of *proof* is on those who favor pure excision; and they had better have, what they never do have, not only a "strong case" but one that convicts "beyond a reasonable doubt." On this type of hypothesis, see especially the fine sarcasm of Madvig, *Adv. Crit.* I. 80–1 (cf. ibid. 64–5 from which I quoted earlier).

As it happens, Madvig also edited this book of Cicero. It is interesting that, though in other types of emendation he is strikingly confirmed by Σ ("Madvig would have rejoiced" etc.: Clark xxxi), and though about the putative interpolations he had praiseworthy misgivings (Clark xiii–iv), we find him here on the wrong side.

CHAPTER TWO

INTERPOLATION IN SOME CAPITAL MSS EXPOSED BY OTHERS

In a somewhat somber part of his introduction to Book 2 (pp. xxxvii-xxxviii) Marchant showed that small glosses, which often resemble those of the scholia, were interpolated in Book 2 into the text of this or that individual MS. Of the ten certain instances which he lists, nine are ignored, rightly, in Powell's OCT apparatus; but three do concern capital MSS, viz. at 2.9.4 where F inserts ἦσαν to explain ὅσαι, 2.11.5 where E inserts τῇ γῇ to explain πολεμίᾳ (as do the scholia) and 2.90.2 where CG, very probably, inserted ναῦς to explain εἴκοσι.

1. *Interpolation in* **E**. Of the seven capital MSS the worst offender is E (which indeed in this respect behaves like one of the wilder *recentiores*). According to J. de Romilly (Budé edition I. xxii n. 5) there are eight places in Book 1 alone where **E** inserts words taken from still extant scholia; and three others are cited by Hemmerdinger (*Essai* etc. p. 61): 6.103.4 ἐκεῖνον [τὸν Νικίαν] (**E**, FABM schol.), 7.40.3 οἱ δὲ ['Αθηναῖοι] (**E**, FAB schol.), 7.87.3 [ἐπώλησαν] (**E**, FBM schol.): here the gloss has replaced the text. There are 22 other places where, according to Dover, this copyist incorporates in his text "explanatory words, phrases or even whole sentences, regardless of the fact that they make nonsense of what he is writing."[1] E.g. 1.4 (re Minos) καὶ τῆς νῦν 'Ελληνικῆς θαλάσσης [.ἐπὶ τόπου νῦν τὸ πλεῖστον.] ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκράτησε; 1.9.1 (re Atreus) τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα [τὸν Πέλοπα] τὸν πατέρα; 1.12.3 τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν [τὴν Χαιρώνειαν] καλουμένην; 1.136.4 (indirect speech, Themistocles speaking:) καὶ [ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς] ἅμα αὐτὸς . . . ἐναντιωθῆναι, ἐκεῖνον δὲ (etc.): this last insertion (minus the article) is also present in F A B.

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[1] K.J. Dover *CQ* 4 (1954) 78 & n. 3. Dover seems to imply that all 22 passages (which he cites without discussing) are examples of "nonsense." In fact, from our point of view, the disturbing thing is that only a few of them are; and if they had not been omitted from the other MSS, one would have been tempted to defend some of them: e.g. 4.29.1 καὶ πάντα διαπραξάμενοι [ὁ Κλέων] etc., where the name may seem sonorous and ironical.

One especially crude example should be singled out as illustrating what Cobet meant when he said, "puerile est et fatuum: sic isti solent" (see above p. 1); and as showing what does really, in the worst case, actually happen: 1.90.1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον ἦλθον πρεσβείαν, [**ἀτείχιστον γὰρ ᾤκουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν πόλιν**] μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τεῖχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλέον (κ.τ.λ.). What disturbs one most is not the gloss's own *magistellus*-like puerility (cf. the identical scholium here), and not even its having, in defiance of the sentence structure, crept into the text, but its having pushed out the words: **τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἂν ὁρῶντες μήτ' ἐκείνους.**[2]

In justice to the **E** copyist it should be added that to this unpleasant habit—which in fact has done little damage, since the other MSS always expose it—we are also much indebted. Because of this assiduity in collation **E** alone preserves many "extra-stemmatic" *Lambda* readings, some of which are Thucydidean.[3]

2. *In* **beta** *(M E F A B).* Of the examples already cited, the two most alarming generically are 2.90.2 (gloss of C G) and 1.136.4 (E F A B), since they suggest corruption in the two main hyparchetypes. For the interpolations of *alpha*, see below; those of *beta* have often been used by Bartoletti, Hemmerdinger, Luschnat and Alberti either to convict the scribe of *beta* of writing interlinear glosses obtained by collation, or to prove that these glosses had already been incorporated by the Archetype *Theta*.[4] Thus e.g. 8.66.3 οὐκ εἶχον C G (recte): αὐτοὶ ἐξευρεῖν add. cett. (et G1 in mg.).[5] 1.24.3 δύναμις C G recte: δύναμις πόλις E M, πόλις A B F c (here the gloss has replaced the text).[6]

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[2] Interestingly, someone has obelized the nu in ἄλλον. I cannot see (but would be glad to know) what sort of improvement he had in mind. For other examples of long interpolations pushing out whole clauses see e.g. Appendix I, List 2.

[3] On E and its exemplars see below Appendix V, 2; Kleinlogel, *Geschichte* 150 ff. With *Lambda*, of course, other *beta* MSS (M F A B) also collated. For a most characteristic example of our debt to it see the E F A B supplement to 8.68.2 (the last specimen in this chapter): half is rubbish, half is authentic.

[4] The dispute about the provenance of these corruptions is reviewed most carefully by Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 145 ff.; also Alberti *Thuc. Historiae* xl–liii. (where see refs.). One of Kleinlogel's achievements (inadequately illustrated here, since I am concerned only with interpolated "glosses" which are relatively few) was a clearer distinction between those variants that may have been in *Theta* itself and those that must have come from collation exemplars. On all this see Appendix V.

[5] Hude and others suspect a lacuna after εἶχον on account of the redundancy of οὐ δύνατοι . . . οὐκ εἶχον. Very possibly, there was never a "gloss" here but only (at least at first) mechanical corruption. See on this sentence in Ch. IX.

[6] Most editors choose δύναμις as *difficilior*, Alberti finds it too much so and rejects

Three examples are striking, as showing how right was Havet (quoted Ch. I init.) to see such intrusions as made by over-courageous copyists confronted with an apparent choice. Thus too 8.76.3 τοὺς γὰρ ἐλάσσους ἀπὸ σφῶν τῶν πλεόνων καὶ ἐς πάντα ποριμωτέρων μεθεστάναι C G M: . . . ἐς πάνταποριμώτεροι οἱ εὐπορώτεροι μεθεστάναι E F A B!—thus preserving the exact gloss. Also 1.62.6 . . . ἡσσᾶτο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατέφυγεν. [1.63.1] Ἐπαναχωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως, (κτλ.): thus rightly C G. But supralinear in B, above ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως, the phrase τῆς Ποτιδείας is added: this is incorporated in the text after ἀπὸ in A and F, then deleted in F. As Alberti saw ("Qu. T." II 31), it is a gloss to 1.62.6 τὸ τεῖχος. Similar perhaps is 6.86.5 καὶ σφαλεῖσαν C E F M (recte): σωτηρίαν added above the line in B and incorporated in the text in A (from which it was then deleted): apparently, the intrusion is related to a *Phi* (here BMFc) scholium, which must have strayed here from much earlier in the sentence: τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν· σωτηρίαν δηλονότι.[7]

From the examples just given it can be seen that *beta* interpolations tend not to infect all five MSS at once (contrast *alpha* described below); but there are exceptions, e.g. 2.89.4 Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε ἡγούμενοι αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.: τῶν ξυμμάχων pro αὐτῶν EFABM; 2.88.2 οὐχ ὑπομενετέον [αὐτοῖς add. <G> M E F A B] ἐστί; most interestingly, 8.64.5 ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπούλου εὐνομίας οὐ προτιμήσαντες recte B, Schol., Dion. Hal.: . . . τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθ. ὕπουλον εὐνομίαν (κτλ.) C: . . . τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθ. ὕπουλον αὐτονομίαν (κτλ.) GMEFAB.[8]

No doubt, the most famous of all *beta* interpolations is the last sentence in Thuc., 8.109.2 ὅταν ὁ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ θέρος χείμων τελευτήσῃ, ἓν καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος πληροῦται. Not much can be said of it; its position makes it *sui generis*, and we have not the slightest clue as to

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it "quod minime cum πολάνθρωπος convenit." But then, surely, the gloss is very hard to explain!

[7] This explanation, of course, is not certain. But it seems likely, since what the participle really modifies, (ἐπικουρίαν), comes much closer in the sentence and must have been obvious even to a foolish glossator. As a rough rule, sheer nonsense should be ascribed to sleepy copyists, not glossators, correctors, etc.

[8] Note that B here = B^{II} = *Omega* (cf. below section 6). On G, which here (as in the preceding example) plainly collated with a *beta* MS, see below section 8. On Dionysius (a good witness) see App. III.

For ἀπό cf. the preceding sentence 8.64.3. As for the genitive which recent editors accept, that is certainly *difficilior* (to my taste, a trifle too much so; but cf. Bétant s.v. προτιμᾶν, "Pass.: in majore honore haberi"). On the scholium see in Ch. V.

when and why and by whom this explanatory note was written.[9]

Various other *beta* interpolations which are less certain, or harder to analyze, than those just cited, will be analyzed later (see especially 8.68.2, 2.96.3, 8.89.1); here enough has been cited to show their basic nature.

3. *In* **alpha** *(C G).* These tend to be less palpable; so that some pioneers of the stemma, such as Powell and Bartoletti, denied that CG could be appealed to at all for evidence of variants in the Archetype. The difference is that whereas the *beta* copyist most often wrote his variants in the margins or between lines (hence the disagreements quoted above), *alpha* inclined simply to incorporate them.[10] Kleinlogel thinks this shown "most strikingly" at 3.38.2 where CG have τοῖς ῥήτορσι in place of ἑτέροις. This seems probable but not certain, since it just might have arisen not in a gloss but in a confusion of similar letters;[11] and quite wrong seems to me an example given by Dover, 8.89.4 ἠγωνίζετο δ' οὖν εἷς ἕκαστος [ὑπερβολὴν add. C G E] αὐτὸς πρῶτος προστάτης τοῦ δήμου.[12]

Very trivial in point of sense, but worth citing for how it shows the process of corruption, is another doubtful instance: 8.38.3 τῶν μετὰ Τύδεως τοῦ Ἴωνος G M F A B: τοῦ Τύδεως (?perperam) C: τοῦ δὲ ὡς E (implying τοῦ written interlin. above the first syllable of Τύδεως). Here most editors (as Jones) omit the article, but Hude defends it ("hoc saltem loco satis aptus est") and one can easily imagine its omission.

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[9] All one can say is that, *pace* Adcock and Canfora, editors correctly excise the sentence. Andrewes (*HCT* V. 387 n. 1) is right to point out how misleading is Adcock's statement, "These words . . . appear in all the manuscripts except the Laurentianus (C) and there they are added by a 'Corrector' in antiquity"—'antiquity' being c. 1270 A.D.! That of the two families only *beta* has it seems decisive evidence, for it can scarcely have been deliberately excised, and the MSS that led to C would scarcely have omitted it mechanically. (Note how carefully in C the four words which follow this—the mere subscription of a 6th-century scribe—were preserved by copyists who mimed the Latin letters! On this see C. Cavallo in J. Hamesse [ed.], *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux* pp. 95–8.)

[10] Bartoletti p. 57 n. 1, Powell *CQ* 32 (1938) 75 [mis-cited in Kleinlogel], Alberti "Q.T." II.27, Kleinlogel *Philol.* 108 (1964) p. 235 & n. 5.

[11] Thus, apropos of this sentence a caveat is made by Kleinlogel himself (loc. cit., preceding note): "Wenn aber Scholien inkorporiert wurden, muss man die Möglichkeit einer Inkorporierung von Varianten erst recht zulassen."

[12] Dover *CQ* 4 (1954) 78, apropos of the relation between E and CG. (On this sentence 8.89.4, see also in Ch. IX.) For two other specimens of the interesting combination C G E, see here below on 8.61.2, 8.91.1. Other examples are in Dover

But there are some plainer examples, e.g. that adduced by Bartoletti at 8.61.2 where M F A B have rightly Ἀντισθένει, but E (though corrected by E1) interpolates Ἀντισθένει στρατηγοῦ and C <G> Ἀντισθένει ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ.[13] *Alpha* and E also interpolate together at 8.91.1. I quote the whole clause because it is an abnormally clear instance of something that will elsewhere be of interest to us, viz. a verb inserted (here stupidly) to prop up the middle of a misunderstood construction. 8.91.1 ταῦτ' οὖν ἐκ πλέονός τε [τε B solus: χρόνου add. cett.] ὁ Θηραμένης διεθρόει καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Λακ. [διεθρόουν (om. F A B M)] πρέσβεις οὐδὲν πράξαντες ἀνεχώρησαν τοῖς ξύμπασι ξυμβατικόν, φάσκων (κ.τ.λ.). I shall later discuss χρόνου; why the verb was inserted is not quite certain; for there might have been, after a line of 26 letters, purely mechanical repetition induced by the homoioteleuton -μένης. . . . -μονος (examples in Ch. X, 2–3). In that case, only the change to plural is absurd. But probably, as is shown by the missing particle, someone could not see that τε . . . καὶ coordinate a prepositional phrase and a temporal clause both modifying διεθρόει (thus e.g. Hude; Jan Ros 401); and his wish to have a verb for καί was so great that he was willing to pay any price for it.

Also fairly certain is 1.128.3 ἀφικνεῖται . . . τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ [βουλόμενος add. CG] . . . πράσσειν, where the infinitive of purpose, a *lectio difficilior*, seems more likely (cf. 8.29.2 παραδοῦναι . . . ξυμπλέων; and 1.72.1

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loc. cit. and Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 100, and see here Appendix V. Theoretically, C G E may agree from one of three causes which are now almost impossible to distinguish: (1) because E's exemplar, *gamma*, collated with *psi* which was copied from *alpha*; or perhaps (2) because *alpha* and *gamma* each incorporated a marginal *Theta*-variant ignored by other *Beta* MSS; or even perhaps (3) because *psi* (which influenced E) and *alpha* preserved the truth independently. (3) of course is impossible now to recognize; the same is true of (2), which in any case is probably rare. Thus, stemmatists always assume (1); but of course, in such problems as this the most "economical" supposition is not always the true one.

Note too that often (as in my opinion here) a putative "conjunctive error," which is cited as such in one stemmatic monograph after another, may be a hard but true (or half true) reading. And when, as often, the list of such errors is only half a dozen or so items long, the structure built upon it may be quite worthless.

[13] Bartoletti, *Storia* 38 n. 1, Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 100 n. 106 (who says that C's reading is also that of the *psi* recc. G's reading here, as often, was lost due to its worm-eaten top margin, but restored from recc. by Powell). Yet I am not quite convinced even about this example. For although ἀντὶ στρατ. here is certainly wrong, the process of corruption seems either unclear or very complex. For if this note meant "'Antisthenes' instead of 'general'," at least three stages of corruption seem indicated: "Antisth." was glossed "general" (plausible enough since he is obscure, mentioned only at 8.39.1); then the gloss replaced the name; then that mistake is here corrected. But in general, modern conjecture is extremely fallible in analyzing complex corruption!

[taking δηλῶσαι not with ἔδοξεν but as Krüger with παριτητέα]; also Ros 123). Finally, there is no doubt about 2.11.5 cited above and 1.116.2 καὶ ἀποβάντες [ἐς τὴν γῆν add. CG (del. G1)].

Also probable seems 8.52.1 (Alcibiades persuading Tissaphernes) ἀνέπειθεν ὅπως φίλος ἔσται τοῖς 'Αθ., δεδιότα μὲν τοὺς Πελ., ὅτι πλέοσι ναυσὶ τῶν 'Αθ. παρῆσαν, βουλόμενον δὲ ὅμως, εἰ δύναιτό πως, πεισθῆναι (sic M E F A B et spat. apt. Π[24]: πιστευθῆναι C G) ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ διαφορὰν . . . ᾔσθετο . . . ἐν ᾗ τὸν τοῦ 'Αλκιβιάδου λόγον πρότερον εἰρημένον . . . ἐπηλήθευσεν ὁ Λίχας (κτλ.). Hude somewhat perversely defends the C G reading, which to me seems less *difficilior* than impossible. Surely, it must have arisen as πιστεῦσαι written above πεισθῆναι (cf. the examples cited in Ch. I, of pure "glosses" mechanically intruded: e.g. 7.73.1 cited here below). That πεισθῆναι might cause a glossator's pen to hover is shown by an extant scholium: πεισθῆναι ὑπὸ 'Αλκιβιάδου μεταθέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς 'Αθ.

4. *In either* **beta** *and/or* **alpha**. At 2.94.1 we have, very probably, the interesting spectacle of a lost paraphrase part of which entered only *alpha* MSS, the other part only *beta* MSS. I underline the two interpolations; all editors reject the first; the second (though accepted by Croiset and even Marchant) was excised by Herwerden followed by Hude, Jones, Luschnat (on second thought), Kleinlogel and Alberti:

> 2.94.1 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ᾤοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσπεπλευκέναι ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ *τήν τε Σαλαμῖνα ᾑρῆσθαι* [sic ABEFM: τῶν Σαλαμινίων πόλιν ἑαλωκέναι CG, late hand M] [ἐνόμιζον om. CG] καὶ παρὰ σφᾶς ὅσον οὐκ ἐσπλεῖν αὐτοὺς

In choosing the right infinitive here we have a scholium to help us: ᾑρῆσθαι· ἑαλωκέναι. But that brief gloss is probably late; as the rest of the *beta* reading shows, there must once have been a longer note (from which, conceivably, that little gloss was torn: on such cannibalizing of scholia see Ch. V, 1). Luschnat (*Addenda* p. 213) conjectures it thus: τήν [τε om. G] τῶν Σαλαμ. πόλιν ἑαλωκέναι ἐνόμιζον. Here, possible "*variatio*" with the verbs (Ros p. 121) surely matters less than the fact that, as Luschnat says, "certe lectionem difficiliorem sequimur si ἐνόμιζον spernimus."[14]

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[14] Of course, this analysis is not certain. But Ros's copious variations can be used to protect practically anything. And whereas at a place like 8.2.1 (discussed below), the "variatio" has a certain evident force and purpose, it here seems too insipid to outweigh the other considerations.

At 2.46.2 one is plunged in ἀπορία, in deciding which of the two families has corrupted the last word of the Funeral Oration: ἄπιτε C G (and Jones, Rusten, Hornblower, Alberti): ἀποχωρεῖτε A B E F (and most editors). Here "stylistic" considerations (ἀποχωρεῖτε more stately; more normal; more "suitable for the end of a speech" etc.) seem too fallible to go by. Then, the closely cognate sentences by Plato (*Menex.*) and Pseudo-Demosthenes (*Epitaph.*) might support ἄπιτε since they both end thus; but this—though it causes Tosi to speak of a "quasi-sacral formula"—is used by Steup to prove the opposite: Thuc. was "emended" to agree with them. I had been inclined myself to choose ἀποχωρεῖτε (a) because Valla's text, which had no basic *beta* affinity, must have had it ("abscedite") and (b) because—according to Marchant, who gives no references—"χωρεῖν was much less familiar to the copyists than ἰέναι, and the scholia sometimes explain the former by the latter."

But the second, more impressive point I find destroyed by an expert in such matters, Renzo Tosi (*Studi sulla tradizione indiretta*, pp. 44–5). He uses this passage to show the frequent "relativity" of the principle *lectio difficilior*, but himself prefers ἄπιτε, "sopratutto perché il verbo ἀποχωρεῖν appare più volgare . . . in seguito destinato a soppiantare ἰέναι, a sostituirglisi nei manoscritti (cf. e.g. Xen *Cyrop.* 1.6.36), a fungere da suo *interpretamentum* nella lessicografia (cf. e.g. Hesych. ι 1101)."

Either family is suspect also at 8.94.1, where MEFAG have (italics mine): καὶ πᾶς τις τῶν *πολλῶν* [*om.C*] *ὁπλιτῶν* [*om.B add.Bgr.*] αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζεν etc. Stahl (followed by Jones) rejected both words ("duo videntur fuisse interpretamenta"); but that seems improbable. Πᾶς τις, which Bétant defines "unusquisque," is always emphatic. Most often it means "each and every one" (2.41.5, 3.13.7, 6.31.5, 7.70.3, 7.84.3); elsewhere (6.68.2, 7.70.2), though equally emphatic, it lays a certain stress on the sense of heterogeneity (thus 7.70.2 in effect, "every last man from among those left", "anyone left that was at all suitable"); in either case, πᾶς is *always exactly defined* either by a genitive (2.41.5) or by the context. Here, to omit both words leaves a context too vague for πᾶς τις. Kleinlogel (*Geschichte* p. 147) supposes, as did Bétant (s.v. πολύς), that τῶν πολλῶν was the true reading (then we have the second sense defined above) and ὁπλιτῶν a superlinear gloss in Theta, which in B replaced the true reading. Though generally a partisan of C, Hude supposed the opposite, that τῶν ὁπλιτῶν is the truth (cf. 8.92.6, 92.10, 93.1 and especially 93.3), "qui cum iidem

populares essent, τῶν πολλῶν addere in promptu erat." In either case, a gloss replaced a true reading.

The following example I put here for lack of a better place (for it does not fit my divisions); also, the tiny interpolation is of a kind that I normally ignore; but it seems too revealing of the stemma to pass over: 4.118.14 ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις πρῶτον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης βουλεύεσθαι Ἀθηναίους καθ' ὅτι ἂν ἐσίῃ ἡ πρεσβεία περὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου: ἂν εἰσίῃ CG: ἂν ἐσίῃ M: ἂν ἐσίηι EFAB: [ἂν] εἶσι Kirchhoff, Hude recte. Now although the indicative is normal (cf. 4.118.13 καθ' ὅτι ἔσται ἡ κατάλυσις τοῦ πολέμου), the "paradosis" is accepted by editors including Poppo, Arnold, Stahl, Smith, Classen-Steup, Graves, Jones and even the oft-deleting Rutherford.[15] Poppo conjectured deletion of ἂν, but scraped up a parallel and kept "verba omnium membranarum consensu." It could be accounted a "consensus" but for the fact that in the slight disagreements one can see the path of the corruption: from C G (closest to the truth; -η seems dittography of ἡ[16]) to M to E F A B (the corruption wholly banalized). The fact that this makes exact stemmatic sense (see stemma diagram) seems unlikely to be a coincidence.[17]

5. **Theta** *interpolations exposed* (A) *by* **B**[II] **(=Omega)** *and* (B) *by H* **(=Xi)**. Of course, *Theta* interpolations will be analyzed through this book; I am here concerned only with these two means of detecting them.

(A) Mainly in books 7–8, but not only there, cod. B in company of H and a few other recc., drawing from a source outside the *Theta* family,[18] exposes much minor corruption as well as several hundred small and several large lacunae; but the gloss-like interpolations which

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[15] Graves, who always thinks for himself, felt misgivings: "As the reading stands, I believe that it can only mean 'in whatever way the embassy may be introduced': cf. leg. ap. Dem. *Timocr.* 715, καθ' ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ, 'in whatever way shall seem fit.' βουλεύεσθαι then stands absolutely" etc.

[16] But conceivably, that was not the original error, for perhaps ἂν was transposed from elsewhere, e.g. it is a relic of the omitted phrase that Kirchhoff conjectures earlier in the sentence.

[17] I assume that Hude saw this, since his apparatus has the readings in this same order. Here (as now and then) Powell's apparatus is wrong to ignore the variants.

[18] I.e. *Omega* (see stemma diagram). According to Kleinlogel and Alberti, strange though it may seem, we have no evidence to connect *Omega* (the source of many plainly old readings in B, especially from 6.94 onwards but also earlier) with *Xi* (the source of many plainly old readings in H, especially from 7.5.1 onwards, but also perhaps earlier); and when, as often, B H or B *xi-* recc. agree against the other MSS, that is due to the fact that these MSS derive from B. On all this see App. V, 2.

it uncovers are curiously few.[19] We have already noticed one probable instance at 8.91.1 ταῦτ' οὖν ἐκ πλέονός τε [τε B solus: χρόνου add. cett.]. With this compare the same word probably added at 7.27.3 φρουραῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνου ἐπιούσαις: χρόνον B: as was noticed by Schwartz (345) and Bartoletti (17), B probably preserves the original form of the gloss. A third example is at 7.73.1 where Hermocrates, fearing that the Athenians might escape, thinks it needful to wall off the roads καὶ τὰ στενόπορα τῶν χωρίων προφθάσαντας φυλάσσειν: sic CGEFAM, Π[18], γρ.B [supralin.]: διαλαβόντας B: προδιαλαβόντας Jones. Jones must have seen that προφθάσαντας betrays the *lectio facilior* φθάσαντας, which had been written above προδιαλαβόντας. Stahl and Hude thought the opposite (i.e that διαλαβόντας was supralinear). But as Hude himself points out, one can scarcely imagine anyone glossing προφθάσαντας with διαλαβόντας; and as Marchant points out, προλαμβάνοντες is glossed in the scholium to 4.33: φθάνοντες, ὥστε μὴ καταλαμβάνεσθαι.[20]

The thing is merely possible at 4.80.3 (re Spartan fear of their Helots) φοβούμενοι αὐτῶν τὴν νεότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος: sic CGEM: σκαιότητα BH (et post ras.F): νεότητα et σκαιότητα (supralin.) A. But this is most uncertain; either could be corrupt or, as Hude thought, both could be.[21]

Still more dubious surely is 8.2.1 (after the Sicilian disaster, even neutral cities joined the war) νομίσαντες (νομίζοντες B) κἂν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἕκαστοι ἐλθεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ κατώρθησαν, καὶ ἅμα ἡγούμενοι (om. B) βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν πόλεμον (κτλ.). The strongest reason to omit (as do most editors including Jones) is that one can see no obvious cause (no homoioteleuton etc.) why *Omega* should have lost the word. But here that criterion seems inadequate; for these two

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[19] It is true that generally a copyist, when he collates, does not delete words from his own text without adding new ones and that, therefore, a collation-exemplar tends not to expose interpolations, except in the form of *lectiones faciliores*. But it seems that B from 6.92.4 onwards, like H at 7.5–7.50, was not merely collated with some old MS but actually copied from it. So it is significant, perhaps, that B and H so rarely expose even *lectiones faciliores*.

[20] "Il Jones accoglie qui una congettura poco convincente dello Stahl"—thus Bartoletti p. 14 (accepting διαλαβόντας). This is wrong about Jones and Stahl (Jones conjectured προδιαλαβόντας; Stahl prints προφθάσαντας and defends it as I have said), and otherwise: we do have to account for the prefix (which does not occur in the immediate vicinity, so as to suggest dittography); and what "convinces" me is Marchant's parallel. Bétant s.v. has three other verbs beginning προδια-.

[21] "Fortasse Thuc. καινότητα (cf. 3.38.5)... (*novandi studium*) posuit, cuius interpretamentum νεότητα, correctura σκαιότητα esse potest."

participles often thus collaborate (Ros 123); and it is precisely the change of tense (Ros 363) that here protects them both. The point of the aorist (which I think "emended" in B: cf. the next section below) is that they *had* dreaded the Athenians; whereas they *now* feel—etc.[22] Thuc., a subtle enough psychoanalyst, thus explains why Ἕλληνες πάντες ἐπηρμένοι ἦσαν.

(B) By collating all of H, Alberti, like Hemmerdinger before him, uncovered a fair amount of other corruption in *Theta*,[23] but only two gloss-like interpolations; still, both are impressive.[24] 5.111.3 οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπί γε τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ προύπτοις κινδύνοις πλεῖστα διαφθείρουσαν ἀνθρώπους αἰσχύνην τρέψεσθε: δὴ βλάψασαν H. Plainly, as Alberti says (p. 52), one of the two is a gloss to the other; and that H has the truth is shown by a striking parallel: 1.122.4 οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ βλάψασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε.[25] Then 6.83.3 εἰδότες τοὺς περιδεῶς ὑποπτεύοντάς τι λόγου μὲν ἡδονῇ τὸ παραυτίκα τερπομένους, τῇ δ' ἐγχειρήσει ὕστερον τὰ ξυμφέροντα πράσσοντας: ἐνθυμήσει H. Again Alberti is right: the *Theta*-text seems too crystal clear to have invited conjecture; besides, nothing in it really invites the scholiast's paraphrase, ἐπὶ τὸ φοβώτερον ὑπονοεῖτε· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑποπτεύοντες ἐκφοβεῖσθε. ἴσμεν γὰρ ὅτι οἱ φοβερόν τι ὑποπτεύοντες, κἂν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὑπὸ τῶν τερπνῶν λόγων ψυχαγωγηθῶσιν, ὅμως ὕστερον **ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζουσι καὶ ἀναλογίζονται** ἕκαστα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ συμφέροντα πράξειν.

6. *Interpolation in* **B$^{\Omega}$ (Omega)**. As for B itself, there is without doubt truth in Hude's suspicion that somewhere in its ancestry was a very assiduous Corrector.[26] He "corrects" inflections (e.g. at 8.2.1 cited

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[22] Smith's Loeb translation (for example) misses this nuance and Steup is surprised by the change of tense.

[23] Alberti, "Qu. T." III.48–55, Hemmerdinger, *Essai*, 55–60 (in the latter list I find no interpolations exposed).

[24] For a third, not less memorable specimen, see Ch. VII: 1.2.2 καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ: H and a very early papyrus (iii B.C.) have διανοίᾳ, which is hard to explain as a gloss.

[25] Note above all the particles and the superlative. (In general—and contrary to popular perception—vehement speeches in Thuc. tend to be a feast of repetitious, expressive particles, that smack of living speech.) One might, I suppose, imagine some grammarian comparing the two passages; but since I have noticed no other instance of this in Thuc. MSS, I think it (as does Alberti) most improbable.

[26] These "corrections" were not made *in B itself* (as Hude seems now and then to think), but in its exemplar, *zeta*. (On that MS, and on the terms B$^{\Omega}$ and *Omega* see Appendix V, part 2). *That* copyist, it is clear, did collate assiduously; and so had other copyists in the MS with which he collated. On the "corrections" see Hude,

above), particles, prefixes and word order; now and then he interpolates more grossly. But larger changes are much less frequent perhaps than Hude thought; and most often it seems wrong to think of a bold "Corrector" at all. One might imagine, on the one hand, some not very astute lover of "variant readings," who in adding to his collection[27] too often included glosses, conjectures, etc., and on the other hand, foolish copyists. The following simple, but valuable, remark by Jones is worth quoting (OCT preface p. v, apropos of variants in the papyri):

> Quod tamen fragmentum accuratius perpendenti fides haud magna codicibus tribuenda videbitur in iis, quae ad sententiam aut non multum aut nihil omnino faciunt, sicut pro εἰ βούλοιντο in papyro εἰ βούλονται legitur; nam credibile est in exemplaribus, quae antiquitus circumferebantur, multa illius generis, ut cuique concinnius esse videbatur, varie esse exarata.

But whatever its exact historical causes, its effects are plain enough, even though we confine ourselves to the grosser forms called "interpolation."[28] One case of false suspicion, 7.73.1, I have just discussed and others will be discussed especially in Ch. IX.[29] But almost certainly interpolated are 7.3.5 μεγάλῳ (B H) λιμένι; 7.11.3 ὥστε μὴ

Edit. max. II.5–6 and *Commentarii critici* passim. (See especially the lists for books 7–8 on pp. 85 ff.: "Correcturae Vaticani," "Additamenta," "Glossemata," etc. This indictment of B contains many wrong or doubtful instances, but has substance). Cf. also Jones' OCT preface p. iv ("coniectura grammatici cuiusdam"), Hemmerdinger *Essai* 29 ("un fin lettré"), Romilly Budé edtn. I. xix, et al. Also W.R. Roberts, *Dionysius of Hal.: On Literary Composition*, Cambridge (1910) p. 341: "B . . . frequently exhibits an order of words which is peculiar to it and may point to a reviser's deliberate effort after greater lucidity." (For partial but instructive lists of variations, including many in word order, see Bartoletti 8–16. *Pace* Roberts, the cause of difference in word order seems most often mechanical.) Stahl and—somewhat stubbornly—Steup defended B against Hude. For Wilamowitz' opinion see Appendix V, part 1 fin.

[27] A collection which included such rubbish as 7.27.3 διαδοχὴν χρόνον (cited above) and 7.57.9 λειπομένους (an uncial corruption of *Theta*'s αἰεὶ πολεμίους—cf. Bartoletti 17).

[28] I spell them out here, not only because of the enormous importance of B^2, but because Hude has often been absurdly accused of prejudice in this matter (cf. App. V, part 1 fin).

[29] In Hude's list of "glossemata Vaticani" (see preceding note) only seven or eight seem clear; the others either wrong or doubtful. Of his "additamenta Vaticani" I discuss in the present section only a few that seem most certain and interesting. Not quite certain seems 6.101.6 where, after ἁρπάσαντες, B adds καὶ διαβιβάσαντες. Classen accepted this; but the word does, as Herwerden said, seem very improbably used of hauling *corpses* across the river. But there is doubt in this example; for perhaps there is irony in the word; the strong homoioteleuton would explain omission; and if it

δύνατον εἶναι ἔτι περιτειχίσαι (since εἶναι itself may mean δύνατον εἶναι); 7.39.1 τῆς ὥρας πρωίτερον ἢ τὸ πρότερον (πρωίτερον B: πρωίτερον, mg. γρ. πρότερον H: πρότερον cett.): here we have perhaps not a gloss but a variant reading. In at least five places a gloss stands instead of the true reading: at 7.28.4 κατὰ χρόνον for ὑπὸ; at 7.62.4 the "correctura inutilis" ἐσομένης for οὔσης; at 7.68.3 πραξάντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότως; at 8.67.3 ἀρχὴν ἔχειν for ἄρχειν; at 8.92.5 τῶν ὁπλιτῶν πλῆθος for στίφος.

At 7.70.2 ἦν (B solus) "plane supervacuum est, cum verbum ἐγίγνετο (*fiebat*) optime eo quoque referatur; causa autem verbi addendi ea res esse potuit, quod subjectum et verbum in suo quodque membro enuntiati posita sunt" (Hude); and at 7.6.1 where B puts ἀμύνεσθαι for μάχεσθαι, "quod verbum quin a correctore vim sententiae in repetitione ipsa verbi μάχεσθαι positam esse non intelligente pro hoc ad sermonem variandum substitutum sit non dubitari potest" (Hude).

At 7.28.2 the OCT has πρὸς γὰρ τῇ ἐπάλξει τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν κατὰ διαδοχὴν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φυλάσσοντες, τὴν δὲ νύκτα καὶ ξύμπαντες πλὴν τῶν ἱππέων, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὅπλοις †ποιούμενοι†, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος ἐταλαιπωροῦντο, and Powell's note is "ποιούμενοι] που B: fort. ἀναπαυόμενοι." Surely, Powell's conjecture is attractive. Not bad, either, is the conjecture of Robert Renehan (*Rh.Mus.* 106 [1963] 288), ἐφ' ὅπλοις <ὕπνους> ποιούμενοι. The omission would be easy, especially in uncial letters; for the idiom he compares e.g. Plato *Symp.* 183a, ποιοῦμενοι . . . κοιμήσεις ἐπὶ θύραις. Herwerden, Stahl and Marchant printed που and Dover favors it; but since it seems pointless, improperly used (see Renehan) and badly positioned, and since one cannot see how that turned into ποιούμενοι or vice versa, "the word has every appearance of being a stop-gap" (Renehan).

I have kept for last a case I think specially hard, 7.71.7 ἦν τε ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα οὐδεμιᾶς δὴ τῶν ξυμπασῶν [sic CGEFAM, Dion. Hal.: ξυμφορῶν B] ἐλάσσων ἔκπληξις. παραπλήσιά τε πεπόνθεσαν καὶ ἔδρασαν αὐτοὶ ἐν Πύλῳ. Marchant (followed by an incorrigible B-partisan, Steup)

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was meant by a scholiast to explain or supplement ἁρπάσαντες, it seems abnormally inept. Very plainly wrong for the same reasons is 8.32.1 χειμασθεισῶν καὶ πλανειθεισῶν (q.v. in Ch. IX).

Similarly, I can see no motive for a "gloss" at 7.19.2 ἀπέχει . . . σταδίους . . . εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, παραπλήσιον δὲ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ πλέον; and Hude was unaware that the Schol. Patm. (ad 6.91) has the word. At 7.49.1 θαρρῶν for γοῦν (see OCT app.crit.) seems a different kind of corruption; as does 7.55.2 κρείσσους ὄντες B: κρείσσονος Schol. (recte): κρείσσους cett. At 8.23.5 it is hard to decide about στρατὸν πεζὸν (B solus: om. cett., Π[24]), which most editors omit. On 8.23.4 see Index s.v.

accepts ξυμφορῶν, "preferable to ξυμπασῶν, which is colourless and adds nothing to οὐδεμιᾶς. 'The consternation was the greatest of their misfortunes.'" This overlooks two problems: (1) One cannot see why ξυμπασῶν would have been interpolated. (2) The translation cheats by ignoring the initial phrase, the particles and the stress. Hobbes (as so often) gets it exactly right: "And *this was the time* wherein of all other they stood in greatest fear."[30] One can scarcely say, "And this was the time when consternation was the greatest of their misfortunes"!

Still, it is true that "Their fear at this moment was not less than *any other of all*" does seem improbable. One cannot help suspecting that both words are corrupt; or perhaps, that they are both authentic and something has dropped out.[31]

7. (?) *Interpolation shared by* **Omega** *and* **Theta**. Very interesting is one place where C B (i.e. *Theta* and *Omega*) seem at first sight to preserve the truth against a foolish M E F A (i.e. *beta*) supplement; viz. 8.69.4 where all editors now bracket the word omitted only by C B, which I underline: καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν μετ' αὐτῶν Ἕλληνες νεανίσκοι οἷς ἐχρῶντο εἴ τι που δέοι χειρουργεῖν. The trouble is that it can scarcely be a gloss; so that, as Hude says, "non abest suspicio quaedam, quin in eo vocabulum quoddam ['an μέλλακτες?' Gertzius] lateat, quod interpretamento νεανίσκοι expulsum sit." In that case—ominously—our two best MSS have perfected the banalization, and we are brought closer to the truth by the *beta* "supplement." We see again, what will be at times pedantically insisted on in this study, that words should not be expelled from the text unless someone can explain how they probably got there.[32]

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[30] That Hobbes is basically right seems indicated by the particles: ἦν τε ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα . . . ἔκπληξις, παραπλησιά τε . . . ἐν Πύλῳ. In Bétant s.v. παραυτίκα one finds that that word, used to mean "in praesenti tempore," is elsewhere thus coordinated with τὸ ἔπειτα, ὕστερον, etc.

[31] Conceivably Thuc., who liked the resonance given by juxtaposed but distinct superlatives (cf. Ch. IX on 8.89.4), wrote something like: "And now was the moment when, even more than elsewhere in this disaster, they had the greatest possible consternation." Thus e.g. one of the most beautiful sentences in Thuc., 7.29.5 καὶ ξυμπορὰ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ οὐδεμιᾶς ἥσσων *μᾶλλον ἑτέρας* ἀδόκητός τε ἐπέπεσεν αὕτη καὶ δεινή. That is scarcely translatable, but *pace* some editors ad loc. there is no "double comparative": "And this disaster, in itself as great as any other in that the whole city was affected, came to pass more unexpectedly and terribly (than any other)."

[32] The failure to look for a motive can lead to incredible blunders. E.g. at 7.74.1 where Hude rightly says, "Temeritate sane insolita Stahlius verba καὶ ἐπειδὴ tamquam

These same two MS constellations, C B: cett. (et Dion. Hal.[33]) are found in a place that in some respects is similar; for here too editors perhaps delete wrongly: 7.71.4 ἦν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ στρατεύματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἕως ἀγχώμαλα ἐναυμάχουν, πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, ὀλοφυρμός, βοή (κ.τ.λ.): αὐτῷ om. EFAM Dion. Hal., del. Stahl et plures edd.: τῶν Ἀθηναίων del. Schwartz (*Das Geschichtswerk* 350; cf. Krüger, "τῶν Ἀθ. ist mir verdächtig; erträglich wäre es mit ἀκοῦσαι verbunden"). Acutely, Schwartz perceived that ἐν τῷ στρατ. τῶν Ἀθ. is a wrong, but very old, variant; and he adds, perhaps rightly, that in C B the true reading has been contaminated with this; i.e., we must not keep both αὐτῷ and τῶν Ἀθηναίων. This idea—that τῶν Ἀθ. is a gloss—might be a better explanation of the facts than that αὐτῷ was mechanically omitted. For if we keep both, there is something awkward. Hude interprets, "'in eodem exercitu (, qui erat) Atheniensium'; melius tamen fortasse verba τῶν Ἀθ. cum ἀκοῦσαι coniuncta malebat Kruegerus." According to Hude's first alternative, Thuc. himself adds a simple "gloss," which surely is otiose. The other idea is better; yet that way too—though it might be defended as expressive in the context—the proper name seems otiose; and since the fifth century had not modern punctuation, this construing seems a somewhat artificial dislocation of the word order.

If Schwartz is right this place too is instructive, but for a different reason: here the two best MSS, that alone still clung to the older reading, preserved the gloss just as piously.

Of course, all the collation exemplars must also have incorporated glosses and other matter. I now give examples from two others, though with this *caveat*: since the texts themselves are lost, it is often hard to distinguish between those glosses that had been written in the margins of *phi*, *Psi*, *Lambda*, etc. from those which had entered the text. (But see e.g. 3.40.6 below). For the collating late hands (c2, c3, f2

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glossam verborum καὶ ὡς . . . expunxit, quasi cuiquam ut talia interpretaretur in mentem venerit."

[33] As regards the error shared by EFAM and Dion., Luschnat denies that there is any significance in it (Book 1 Pref. p. 13. He is using this and 70.4 φυγεῖν as examples of wrong analysis by Bartoletti): "Sed quid existimare nos cogit illas lectiones nisi collatione non oriri potuisse? Quislibet pro φεύγειν scribere potuit φυγεῖν, et vix crediderim omissionem vocis αὐτῷ praesertim in tali contextu collationem indicare." Kleinlogel remarks (*Geschichte* 147), "Möglich ist es aber trotzdem," and this is one of a dozen or so places (see App. II) that caused him to see a certain kinship between Dion. Hal. and *beta*.

etc.) that copied most of them into our capital MSS were often indiscriminate, scraping the bottom of the barrel.

8. *Interpolation in (or from)* **Phi** *(=c f G M)*. One clear example, at 6.86.5., has already been cited (above section 2). An apparent *Phi* banalization is at 2.15.2 where G M have πόλιν for χώραν. Another is 3.40.6 ὁ γὰρ μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ (δίκῃ M f, Schol. f c) τι παθὼν χαλεπώτερος διαφυγὼν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἐχθροῦ (note that f not only interpolates but even preserves the scholium on which it drew). More interesting is 8.109.1 ὅπως . . . τὰς διαβολὰς [ἀπώσηται M, marg.f g a] καὶ περὶ τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς εὐπρεπέστατα ἀπολογήσεται. The *variatio* in the unsupplemented text—viz. acc. and prep. phrase—has been doubted even by modern editors, but is probably authentic (for other examples, see on 4.63.1 in Ch. VIII, 5). The interpolated verb seems to have come from a *Phi* scholium preserved by f c which reads καὶ τὰς διαβολάς· λείπει τὸ ἀπώσηται (i.e "supply ἀπώσηται"). Presumably some copyist mistook this for a corrector's note.[34] The corruption is at least as old as β^1 (see stemma) since f g M all derive from that; and the copyist c, who usually copies from this same source, plainly got the scholium uncorrupt from elsewhere.

In general, I avoid citing interpolations that are due to mere variant readings; still, at 4.118.9 the path followed by a *Phi* interpolation is so plain and instructive that I make an exception: διδάσκετε recte CGEFAB: διδάσκεσθε F^2 in mg.: διδάσκετε καὶ διδάσκεσθε M.

9. *Testimony of* **c G**. Here again, briefly, I shall break the rule about not citing mere variant readings. This tiny branch of the stemma seems just worth isolating, on account of the occasional great importance of these two copyists. One notices that now and then where C omits a word or blunders, c, most often in company with G, restores not only that word but several more, which often are not in the other MSS. At 1.39.3 and 1.40.1, nearly all editors regard very long such supplements as spurious—wrongly I think.[35] At 1.78.4 ἢ G c] εἰ δὲ μὴ A B E F M: om. C, editors are divided, nor can I decide. At 8.67.2 ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐφῆκε: ἡ hab. G, om. CMEFAB sed legit **c G**

[34] In faet, a corrector would most probably have written simply διαβολὰς ἀπώσηται (the noun being written merely to show where the omitted verb must go).

[35] See Ch. VIII, 5. There is often a doubt whether c G readings eome from *alpha* or from *Phi* (= e G f M): the latter is plainly true at 6.16.3 and 8.67.2 (both eited

M Schol., G is plainly right; and this seems akin to 6.16.3 ἦδ' ἡ ἄνοια M, γρ c, γρ g, Mfc Schol. (recte): ἡ διάνοια cett. On the other hand, plainly false are 2.37.2 ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν (ἥκειν suprascr. c G; cf. 8.89.1 quoted below) and 6.78.1 ὑπέρ γε ἐμῆς [χώρας add. G et suprascr. c]. Two other specimens, 1.39.1 and 1.31.3, are worth writing out here. In both places I use Alberti's *sigla* (so that Powell's c becomes C^3).

At 1.31.3 the Corinthians on hearing of the Corcyrean embassy to Athens send their own embassy:

> ὅπως μὴ σφίσι πρὸς τῷ Κερκυραίων ναυτικῷ <u>καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν</u> προσγενόμενον ἐμπόδιον γένηται θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ᾗ βούλονται
>
> καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν G et in litura sex litt. C^3: τὸ Ἀττικὸν ABEFMZγρG:
>
> καὶ ante τὸ Ἀττικὸν add. F^3: καὶ τὸ Ἀττικὸν C^3 (supralin.) H K Cn et alii *psi* recc.: τὸ αὐττικὸν (sic) Pa || προσγενόμενον] προσ add. C^3

This I think hard. Poppo, Arnold and Stahl printed τὸ Ἀττικὸν; but most—e.g. Classen, Herwerden, Hude, Croiset, Jones, Alberti—prefer τὸ αὐτῶν as *difficilior* (for the use of αὐτῶν Croiset compares 1.136.1). But to my taste this reading is indeed *difficilis*; and note that there might well have been a confusion of similar letters in N<u>AYTIKΩ</u>I KAI <u>ATTIK</u>ON. The Pa reading (recorded by Arnold) seems due to exactly this, not to conflation of exemplars.[36]

The next example, though more interesting, is still harder:

> 1.39.1 καὶ φασὶ δὴ δίκῃ πρότερον ἐθελῆσαι κρίνεσθαι, ἥν γε
> οὐ τὸν προύχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς προκαλούμενον λέγειν τι
> <u>δοκειν δεῖ</u> (A B E F M C^2 = *beta*:
> <u>δοκεῖν</u> C:

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below); the former seems true at 1.39.1 (quoted below). When c G reflect *alpha*, we have a disagreement between that and *beta*; when it reflects *Phi*, the disagreement is between that and *Theta* itself.

At times, as at 1.39.1, 1.39.3 and 1.40.1, the c G reading is shared by the *psi recentiores*; and c G *psi* do share, at least, many scholia: see e.g. Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 128–130, Alberti *Historiae* ciii. If we could trust our stemma drawing, c G *psi* readings must have come from *alpha*. But here and in other cases of heavy contamination, surely we cannot trust it.

[36] This I say because, according to Alberti (*Historiae* clxii), Pa is a pure F-type *cod. deterior*, betraying collation only (in some ancestor) with H. But it should be remembered that, as Hude once remarked (*Rev. Phil.* n.s. 26 [1902] 33), even the most plainly derivative MSS have now and then a reading that seems due neither to error nor to conjecture (e.g. it seems possible at 8.23.4, q.v. [the Cn V reading]).

Part of Alberti's critical note at 1.31.3, "om. C" (i.e. C lacked either variant), does not seem certainly true; given the erasure, how do we know what C had?

δεῖ δοκεῖν Ud:
δοκεῖν δεῖ τηρεῖν G:
δοκεῖ τηρεῖν J C[3] Pl[2]),
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐς ἴσον τά τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς λόγους πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάντα.

Here, as very often, G seems a conflation of beta (δοκεῖν δεῖ) and *alpha* (either δοκεῖν or δοκεῖν τηρεῖν).[37] Τηρεῖν has seemed interpolated to all recent editors; for the *beta* text not only makes good sense but also seems Thucydidean;[38] and though τηρεῖν could have strayed from elsewhere, one cannot find a place for it anywhere in the passage.

But whence came this "enigmatic word," as Hude calls it? To Daniel Serruys it seemed an intrusive gloss, not of δοκεῖν but of a verb found elsewhere only in verse, δοκεύειν, which some MSS must have had for δοκεῖν. For as Serruys noticed, δοκεύειν is repeatedly glossed exactly thus in Byzantine lexica; e.g. Hesychius, δοκεύειν· τηρεῖν, φυλάσσειν, ἐπιτηρεῖν, προσδοκᾶν (cf. Suidas, *Etym. Magn.* et alibi). Serruys even detects a curious allusion to Homer Ψ 325 ἀλλ' ἔχει ἀσφαλέως καὶ τὸν προύχοντα δοκεύει. He translates "mais cette justice, ce n'est pas celui qui a l'avantage et qui réclame, sans courir de risques, des explications qui doit l'attendre; c'est celui au contraire qui établit l'égalité en ce qui touche les actes aussi bien qu'en ce qui regarde les paroles, avant d'entreprendre la lutte." But this is pure cheating; for (as Hude says) προκαλούμενον λέγειν τι is scarcely equivalent (as it should be) to προκαλεῖσθαι ἐς λόγους, and δοκεύειν does not mean "attendre." It seems better, reluctantly, to admit that we do not know where on earth τηρεῖν came from.[39]

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37 On G conflation see e.g. Alberti *Historiae* etc., xcvii ff., Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 115 n. 19. (Thus G is full of tiny mechanical "interpolations," nearly all of which I ignore in this study: for there is rarely any doubt about their origin. The same is true of B in the last two books: often it conflates *Theta* and *Omega*.) Ud J and Pl are *psi* MSS; for the problem of how such MSS come to have *alpha* readings, see on 1.39.3

38 "Thucydidean" is the way in which ἦν depends on the participle, not on the main verb (see e.g. on 1.11.2, 4.87.2). For convincing translations see especially Hobbes; also Poppo ad loc. In what follows I refer to Hude *Rev. de Phil.* n.s. 26 (1902) 32–37, answering Daniel Serruys, *Rev. de Phil.* n.s. 25 (1901) 236–252.

39 Possibly, even, as Hude concedes, it does gloss δοκεύειν which was once wrongly in the text.

I have ignored the weaker arguments both of Serruys (his feeble objections to *beta*'s text) and of Hude (that δοκεύειν is elsewhere "poetic"—that is an argument that should never be adduced in the study of Thuc.). Feeling pressed himself to explain the queer verb, Hude supposes that it might have come from a note similar to the scholium: ... καὶ οὐ δεῖ, φησίν, προσέχειν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ ἰσχυροῦ προκαλούμενον (τῷ ... προκαλουμένῳ?) ἐς κρίσιν, οὐδὲ δοκεῖν ὅτι λέγει τι, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονεῖν.

10. *Testimony of F A B* (=**delta**). The *delta* family F A B is defined as a group by conjunctive errors, from which E M are free, and as a rule it is not an authoritative group. But now and then F A B are quite clearly alone right (see Bartoletti's list of readings pp. 36–7 n. 1; cf. also the corrections made by the first hands in F A B: Alberti, *Historiae* xlvi). For this reason I cannot but suspect, with Kleinlogel and Hude against Alberti, that *delta* was copied not from *gamma* (= E Z) but directly from *beta* (on this problem see Appendix V, 2). The truth is not *certain* in any of the following places; but I suspect that F A B is right in all of them.

At 3.87.2 I print the text of Jones and Hude, underlining MS disagreements. (This concerns the effects of the plague, which lasted a year and on a prior occasion, two full years:)

> 3.87.2 . . . τὸ δὲ πρότερον καὶ δύο ἔτη, ὥστε Ἀθηναίους γε μὴ εἶναι ὅ τι μᾶλλον τούτου ἐπίεσε καὶ ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν.
>
> ὥστε Ἀθηναίους γε (in τε c2) μὴ εἶναι ὅ τι μᾶλλον τούτους ἐπίεσε καὶ ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν C [?G]: ὥστε Ἀθηναίους τε μὴ εἶναι ὅ τι μᾶλλον τούτους ἐπίεσε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν γρ **A1, B1, F1**: ὥστε Ἀθηναίων γε μὴ εἶναι ὅ τι μᾶλλον <. . .> ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν **MEFAB**

The underlined phrase is rejected without discussion by most scholars including Poppo, Bétant (s.v. κακοῦν), Arnold, Classen-Steup, Stahl and Smith;[40] but Hude and Jones seem right to keep it. Ἐκάκωσε needs no gloss, so that we should have to suppose some relic of a paraphrase; while for πιέζω there are good parallels; e.g. 2.50.1 ἐπίεσεν δ' αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον πρὸς τῷ ὑπάρχοντι πόνῳ καὶ ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ (κτλ.), 2.58.2 ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ ἡ νόσος ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάνυ ἐπίεσε τούς Ἀθ., φθείρουσα τὴν στρατίαν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς προτέρους στρατιώτας νοσῆσαι (κτλ.) The "right" (in a sense) supplement seems not that of C but that of F A B, since the *homoiotes* μᾶλλον . . . μᾶλλον is what explains the omission. At the same time, the second μᾶλλον might very well be dittography. For it would be no great "coincidence" if a mistaken repetition, resulting in a strong *homoiotes*, led later to omission, since this happens often.[41]

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[40] *Suo more*, Smith omits them in his 1894 edition of Book 3, keeps them in his 1922 Loeb edition.

[41] For interpolated words omitted, oddly, by mechanical error see index on 8.23.4, 8.101.2, 8.68.3, 3.103.1; cf. also 1.39.3–1.40 (C's transposition).

I am not sure that here editors are right to read Ἀθηναίους. *Beta*'s genitive would be governed by δύναμιν, thus giving chiastic word order of which Thuc. was fond; and the gen. seems *difficilior*.

In the next two examples F A B seem to expose interpolation; and though in each case there are other considerations, I can in neither place imagine a good cause of omission:[42]

> 3.80.1 ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Κερκ. ἐν τούτῳ περιδεὴς γενόμενος μὴ ἐπιπλεύσωσιν αἱ νῆες τοῖς τε ἱκέταις ἦσαν ἐς λόγους, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ πόλις. καί τινας αὐτῶν ἔπεισαν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι· ἐπλήρωσαν γὰρ ὅμως τριάκοντα προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν. οἱ δὲ Πελ. (κτλ.): om. F A B, in marg. ut schol. add. F_1; secl. Hude, Stahl, Classen-Steup, Smith, alii, quod "scholio ex verbis 79.1 δείσαντες μὴ σφίσι ἐκπλεύσαντες ducto originem videntur debere" (Poppo).

One feels reluctant to bracket any phrase as long as this. Thus Jones retains it, and Powell merely records the disagreement. But it seems inauthentic both for the reason already given (i.e., F A B had no reason to omit) and because the gloss is intelligible, the phrase otiose. (For their reason for manning the ships is spelled out in the preceding sentence).

The last example, I think, is more disturbing; it is also much more complex and will have to be discussed at some length. Here I print the OCT, underlining what has seemed suspect:

> 2.78.1) οἱ δὲ Πελοπ. ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτου διήμαρτον, μέρος μὲν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀφέντες, περιετείχιζον τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις τὸ χωρίον· τάφρος δὲ ἐντός τε ἦν καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐξ ἧς ἐπλινθεύσαντο. (78.2) καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶν ἐξείργαστο περὶ ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς, **καταλιπόντες** φύλακας τοῦ ἡμίσεος τείχους (τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Βοιωτοὶ ἐφύλασσον) ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ . . .
>
> στρατοῦ A B F M: στρατοπέδου C G E P[43] | τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀφέντες C G P: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀφέντες E M grG¹: om. F A B

Now, scholars have found it odd that the Spartans should dismiss most of their army just before circumvallation. This, given the limitations of our knowledge, is not adequate cause for deletion, and Steup and Gomme defend the text. But that all is not well here is

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42 Note too that, as a rough rule, when there is no *homoiotes* abetting omission, the omitted words tend to form a line in the exemplar; but the line-length here would be 24 letters (in the preceding example, 17 letters), and that is abnormally small for a 10th- or 11th-century MS. Other large F A B omissions are listed in Appendix I, list 5.

43 "P" = "Pm" in Kleinlogel (cf. *Geschichte* 158): a 10th-c. MS containing an anthology of excerpts περὶ παρατάξεων καὶ περὶ πολιορκιῶν. Its text is akin to that of *Theta*; but it has uncial disagreements with *Theta*, and so apparently descends from a close common ancestor. Here, as often, it sides with *alpha*: probably because *beta* has collated with another very old MS (Alberti *Historiae* I-li).

shown, in the first place, by the nature of the MS disagreements. I spell them out since the brevity of an app. crit. makes them hard to picture clearly (for the Greek-letter sigla see stemma diagram):

α (C G P) . . . τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀφέντες
α + β (E grG[1]) . . . τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀφέντες
β (β[1]) M . . . τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀφέντες (cf. Valla: retenta quadam exercitus parte cetera remissa)
(δ) F A B . . . τοῦ στρατοῦ [om. cetera verba]

In other words, it seems that here as elsewhere E grG conflated the two hyparchetypes; also, that *beta* either lacked the δέ clause altogether (so that M got it from *Phi*, via *beta* 1) or—more probably—had it in the margin, so that *beta* 1 and *delta* could make different choices.

Now if the text is sound, it is very hard to explain these variants. στρατοῦ/στρατοπέδου might, perhaps, have resulted from mechanical error, or from a misread abbreviation; but the other two variants are harder: in neither case is there any *homoiotes* that might have helped omission. In particular, though Bloomfield, Poppo and Arnold print it, λοιπὸν seems pure padding. For with it, the δέ clause adds nothing to the μέν clause: it has no point except as a stopgap to answer μέν.

So Classen, Stahl and Croiset, disturbed alike by the strange sense and by the disagreements, simply excised the whole line μέρος . . . ἀφέντες. According to Croiset, it was a marginal gloss of καταλιπόντες φύλακας. But such a "gloss" seems unmotivated and improbable. Classen imagined, as others have done at several places in book 8, that we have a conflation of two drafts by the first redactor. He thought that after ἐπιτολάς in 78.2, Thuc. first wrote 78.1 μέρος μέν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοῦ, then replaced it with καταλιπόντες φύλακας . . . ἐφύλασσον: both ended up in the text, and τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀφέντες was interpolated to answer μέν.

Much more plausibly, Herwerden deletes both participial clauses in 78.1 and emends 78.2 to μέρος μέν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοπέδου φύλακας etc., thus giving (I underline what was omitted):

οἱ δὲ Πελοπ. ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτου διήμαρτον,
περιετείχιζον τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ διελόμενοι
κατὰ πόλεις τὸ χωρίον· τάφρος δὲ ἐντός τε ἦν
καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐξ ἧς ἐπλινθεύσαντο. καὶ ἐπει-
δὴ πᾶν ἐξείργαστο περὶ ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς
<u>μέρος μέν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοπέδου</u>
φύλακας τοῦ ἡμίσεος τείχους (τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ
Βοιωτοὶ ἐφύλασσον) ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ.

Thus one line (probably) of 36 letters was omitted and put back in the wrong place, so that 78.2 καταλιπόντες and 78.1 τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀφέντες had to be interpolated: the former for obvious reasons, the latter for the sake of μέν.

Now it cannot be denied that in the case of corruption as complex as that supposed here, modern conjecture is extremely fallible. Moreover, if wrong, *this* conjecture would be doubly shameful, since a historical fact is here involved. Thus, one can scarcely fault Jones for simply printing what seemed the paradosis. But insofar as the "paradosis" is itself doubtful, conjecture is legitimate if it produces a good text and can account, plausibly, for the MS disagreements. Classen's hypothesis is never, elsewhere in Thuc., more than a remote possibility (see the passages cited in the "typology" in the Introduction to this study). But every detail of what Herwerden supposes is well attested, including even the 36-letter line-length.[44] Also, καταλιπόντες is not required to mean (as it otherwise must in its first appearance) "retain" or "keep," but has its normal meaning of "leave behind."[45]

11. *Miscellaneous.* I here end with four passages that, for one reason or another, are abnormally complicated in terms of the stemma (above all the penultimate example, 8.89.1, illustrating every possible kind of disagreement). As in some places already discussed, there is more than one layer of corruption, so that the basic problem is less in the particular MS groups than in the tradition itself. Thus, three of these places will be also be discussed later in this book; and conversely, I could greatly expand this miscellany by including other, similar places of which I postpone discussion. Still, even in these many-sided places, it is chiefly MS disagreement that betrays interpolation. If this chapter quite avoided such specimens it would give a misleading impression; and so I end with four that seem typical.

At 1.134.4 (q.v. V, 2) καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν, οὗπερ τούς κακούργους εἰώθεσαν, ἐσβάλλειν, the interpolation εἰώθεσαν,

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[44] Of course, it might have been 18 letters, not 36 (i.e. two lines were omitted); on all this see Ch. X, section 4. On omissions in Thuc. MSS generally, see Appendix I; on omission and wrong reinsertion, Ch. X, section 5 (but note that in the case of an entire line, often there is no "reinsertion": the omitted line ends up in the top or bottom margin and is then mechanically interpolated); and for a list of verbs certainly inserted as stop-gaps in incomplete constructions, Ch. VIII, 4 init.

[45] Though no one discusses it, it is this detail that, when combined with the others and with the repetition, wakens in me the deepest suspicion of the paradosis.

omitted by E A M, results from someone's difficulty with the brachylogy (sc. ἐσβάλλουσι: thus rightly Arnold).[46] That the word is spurious is suggested not only by its being *lectio facilior* but also by the fact that it must have been written in *Theta* between the lines. This fact itself is proven in two ways: (a) that E A M were able to omit it (for they can scarcely have done so by "coincidence": see the stemma diagram); and (b) by variations in the MSS that contain it (note above all the word order): εἰώθεσαν ἐμβάλλειν H F: εἰώθεσαν [supralin.] ἐμβάλλειν B: ἐσβάλλειν εἰώθασιν C: εἰώθασιν ἐσβάλλειν in litura G [ἐμβάλλειν γρ. G], ἐμβάλλειν εἰώθεισαν m[3], ἐμβάλλειν A B, εἰώθεισαν [schol.] suprascr. B[1], post ἐμβάλλειν supra v. εἰώθεσαν add. A[1], ἐμβαλεῖν E.[47]

At 2.96.3 critics have long sensed an intrusion, but analysis was defeated at first by the complexity of the corruption (wrong word-division, then dittography, then omission, then interpolation). The passage is paradigmatic for Thuc. MSS; for here one can see, with abnormal clarity, the kinds of thing that one learns to look for in the *worst* places. (The boldface in the text is mine; the apparatus is based on Alberti's:)

> 2.96.3 ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Λαιαίους καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔθνη Παιονικὰ ὧν ἦρχε, καὶ ἔσχατοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὗτοι ἦσαν· μέχρι γὰρ Λαιαίων Παιόνων καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ Σκόμβρου ὄρους δι' Ἀγριάνων καὶ Λαιαίων ῥεῖ, [οὗ] ὡρίζετο ἡ ἀρχὴ τὰ πρὸς Παίονας αὐτονόμους ἤδη. τὰ δὲ πρὸς Τριβαλλούς (κτλ.)
>
> γὰρ] C gr A[1] B[1] F[1] M[1]: Γρααίων καὶ MEFAB: Γ +ρααίων καὶ G || δι' Ἀγριάνων Classen: διὰ Γρααίων (Γραιαίων M) codd. || οὗ del. Arn.[48]

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[46] Not a mere scribe but a great critic misread a similar ellipse at Strabo II.121 (a geographer must commemorate not only a country's natural features, which are permanent, but also its associations with human deeds, even though these are transient): καὶ τούτων δὲ τὰς πλείω χρόνον συμμένειν δυναμένας ἐμφανιστέον, ἢ μὴ πολὺ μὲν ἄλλως δὲ ἐπιφάνειαν ἐχούσας τινὰ (κ.τ.λ.). Madvig (*Adv. crit.* I.71–2) was quite convinced that this represents a corruption in two stages of ἀπολλυμένας μέν. Simply, he failed to see that what we supply in thought is not συμμένειν δυναμένας but συμμένουσα.

[47] For lists of similar instances of interlinear writing (not necessarily involving interpolated "glosses," but *variae lectiones* of any kind) see e.g. Hemmerdinger *Histoire* 40–1, Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 145–8. Jones and others bracket the whole phrase within commas, but wrongly (see Ch. V, 2).

[48] For the relation between MSS, see stemma. The letter erased in G was α, perhaps; for CG have a common ancestor, *alpha*, and perhaps γὰρ was written ambiguously (e.g. between lines) in *alpha*. That otherwise G here sides with Beta MSS (=MEFAB), would be due to contamination (as was said above, G is heavily contaminated).

"This is one of the few passages in Thucydides, in which, I think, there is room for a correction of a text in conjecture"—thus the arch-conservative Arnold, who analyzed rightly the last stage of corruption (see below). But he retains the "Graeans" in their second appearance; and Bekker, Poppo and Göller—putting a full stop after ἦρχε, not after ἦσαν—deleted γὰρ and Λαιαίων, and printed μέχρι Γρααίων Παιόνων.

What probably happened can best be pictured if we picture a pro-archetype having some such lineation as this[49] (in bold face, supralinear, are the corrupt words):

MEXPI
[**ΓΡΑΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ** add. EEFABM]
[**Γ-ΡΑΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ** add. G]
ΓΑΡ ^ ΛΑΙΑΙΩΝ Π ΑΙΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΡΥΜΟΝΟΣ (32-*letter line*)
ΔΙΑ
ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ, ΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΟΜΒΡΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ ΔΙ Α- (30-*letter line*)
[**ΓΡΑΑΙΩΝ** codd.]
ΓΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΙΑΙΩΝ ΡΕΙ, [ΟΥ add. codd.] ΩΡΙΖΕΤΟ κ.τ.λ.

That is, first a copyist had corrupted ΔΙ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ to ΔΙΑ ΓΡΑΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ; then a later copyist—his eye leaping ahead—copied ΓΡΑΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ two lines early, and this resulted in omission of *γὰρ*. In consequence, the syntax was misunderstood; μέχρι κ.τ.λ. was attached (as in our MSS) to the preceding sentence, and οὖ became necessary. (To be sure, now the sentence straggled on and on: the price paid for intelligible grammar.) All this seems clear; the one uncertain thing is how on earth C came to have *γὰρ*, which is probably the right word. Editors have sensed in it a specimen of that most vexing kind of "interpolation," a good Byzantine conjecture (so Croiset, Marchant); alternatively, it might have survived all the corruption. Notice that in the latter case only the tiny οὖ was inserted conjecturally.[50]

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[49] The number of letters skipped by the eye of a copyist in dittography, or in omission, is always potentially interesting: see Ch. X, 4, and the introduction to App. I. For the present line-length see on 1.39.3–1.40 (but bearing in mind that here, as there, the line-length might be c. 15 letters rather than c. 30: i.e. perhaps four lines were skipped, not two).

[50] J. de Romilly would not emend here. Disturbed by the amount of corruption that we seem forced to suppose, she retains the old vulgate punctuation, accepts οὖ, and prefers the reading of *Beta* MSS, and in both places keeps Γρααίων in the belief that these people, though otherwise unknown to us, may have existed. So far as proper names go, it is quite right to be thus cautious; and about the rest, admittedly, we cannot be sure of the truth. But her "conservativism" here is false: not so much because such corruption is abundantly attested (see Ch. X passim)—and not

8.89.2, like some other passages in book 8, is very impressively corrupt. Since a vital clue to its *main* problem is given by the scholium, I postpone discussion of that till Ch. V, 3; still, there is enough else to inspect. I underline only those words about which there is MS disagreement:

8.89.2 καὶ ξυνίσταντό τε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πράγματα διεμέμφοντο, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τῶν πάνυ στρατηγούντων[51] τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων, οἷον Θηραμένη τε τὸν Ἅγνωνος καὶ Ἀριστοκράτη τὸν Σκελίου καὶ ἄλλους, οἳ μετέσχον μὲν ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι τῶν πραγμάτων, φοβούμενοι δὲ, ὡς ἔφασαν, τό τε ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην σπουδῇ πάνυ, τούς τε ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρεσβευομένους [ἔπεμπον], μή τι ἄνευ τῶν πλεόνων κακὸν δράσωσι τὴν πόλιν, οὐ τὸ ἀπαλλαξείειν τοῦ ἄγαν ἐς ὀλίγους οἰκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πεντασχιλίους ἔργῳ καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι χρῆναι ἀποδεικνύναι.

ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι Bekker: ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις B: ἐν πρώτοις cett. et Schol. | δὲ, ὡς] δ' ὡς B: ἀδεῶς AEFM (cf. Schol. ἀδεῶς· ἀφόβως[!]) | σπουδῇ πάνυ om. CM | ἔπεμπον om. CM, fort. non leg. Schol. | δράσωσι] δράσειαν B | οὐ τὸ] οὐ τῷ B: οὕτω Pi (cf. Valla *ita enim*): οὕτω vel διὰ τοῦτο Herw.: οὔτοι Poppo, Stahl: οὔπω Madvig | ἀπαλλαξείειν Abresch ex schol. ἀπαλλακτικῶς ἔχειν: ἀπαλλάξειν codd. | οἰκεῖν M: ἐλθεῖν cett.

Οὐ τὸ will be discussed in Ch. V, 3; apart from that there are at least three certain corruptions, viz. (1) ἀδεῶς (! *beta*); (2) ἀπαλλάξειν for -είειν (*Theta*) (since the scholiast seems to read it, and besides, the arcane *variatio*, desiderative infin. versus χρῆναι, seems unmistakably Thucydidean);[52] (3) ἐλθεῖν (? *Theta*). That this last is not a mechanical error but an intrusive gloss or a conjecture is proven by 2.37.1 καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται: ἥκειν suprascr. c G.[53]

even because she has to accept improbably clumsy syntax (see her note ad loc. pp. 103–4: it is not true that the sentence is in any case "gauchement écrit": as often in Thuc., it is merely repetitious for clarity's sake)—but because after all the MSS are divided. She too is choosing; and the *beta* reading is far clearer *as a corruption* than the C reading which she rejects.

[51] στρατηγούντων coni. Bergk: στρατηγῶν τῶν codd.: στρατηγῶν dell. Classen (coll. 8.1.1 ἠπίστουν καὶ τοῖς πάνυ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου διαπεφευγόσι), edd. pler. et iam LSJ (s.v. πάνυ). Older editors accepted στρατηγῶν, as does Bétant s.v.; and since some of the men in question were generals, I can see no good grounds for simply deleting the word.

[52] Such variation seems too subtle even to be noticed by Jan Ros; cf. Ch. VIII, 4 on 6.87.4.

[53] About the exact meaning of this idiom (οἰκεῖν ἐς...) scholars differ. Marchant at 2.37.1 says that οἰκεῖν is intransitive ("be administered") and the subject ἡ πολιτεία,

Then (4) very probably interpolated, too, is ἔπεμπον, for although one could keep it by changing τοὺς to οὓς (thus e.g. Delebecque), the combination C + M (which belong to different MS families: see next note) + Schol. seems to expose a *beta* stop-gap. B's δράσειαν is also suspicious; as Hude remarked, it looks like an attempt at greater harmony with the imperfect ἔπεμπον.

As for σπουδῇ πάνυ, which C M also omit, that looks authentic: one suspects that the phrase could be out of place.[54]

We have in sum three certain mechanical corruptions, a probable intrusive gloss, a probable grammatical emendation by B, and a verb probably inserted as a stop-gap.

My last specimen, 8.68.2, is notoriously hard but one can, I think, discern something of the truth. I print first Jones' OCT with Powell's apparatus (to which I add Krüger's conjecture); then Valla's translation; then Hude's discussion, which cites a pertinent scholium; then conjectures by Stahl and Herwerden:

> καί αὐτός τε, ἐπειδὴ †μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καί ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη† τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο, ἄριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων αἰτιαθείς, ὡς ξυγκατέστησε, θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος.
>
> (Powell:) "μετέστη . . . κατέστη om. C G M τὰ [ante τῶν] C G: μετὰ cett. duas recensiones conflatas esse censebat Jones, μετέστη . . . κατέστη et τὰ . . . τῶν ἐκακοῦτο". καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη post ἐκακοῦτο transponenda esse coni. Krüger (cf. Valla, et vide infra)
>
> (Valla:) et qui postmodum (cum statu quadringentorum collapso, acta illorum populus ultum iret, ipseque in iudicium vocaretur, tanquam unus ex istarum rerum auctoribus) videtur mihi optime (etc.)

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as at Plato *Rep.* 547 c πῶς οἰκήσει (αὐτὴ ἡ πολιτεία). This seems right; cf. the commentary of P.Oxy. 853 ad loc. (col. xv, 7–11) διοικεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα. About the preposition it is harder to be exact. According to Arnold (at 2.37.1), Rusten (ibid.) and this same papyrus, the government is παρὰ πλείονας, "for" them; while Marchant translates "the administration *is in the hands of*" and Grenfell-Hunt (comparing not very aptly 8.53.3) paraphrase διοικεῖσθαι ὥστε πλείονας εἶναι τοὺς διοικοῦντας. Either passage could be held to support either interpretation, and perhaps in the Greek there is no exactness. (I.e., Pericles is not Abraham Lincoln, and the prep. merely means "with respect to." I cannot see that LSJ s.v. sheds any light.)

[54] On the not infrequent combination C M see Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 165–6, Alberti *Historiae* liii, "si quis iudicet codicem M exemplar quoddam familiae α vel C ipsum contulisse, meminerit hoc nullo modo demonstrari possit" (i.e. because C M or C G M agree almost always in truth) and see here App. V. On the excellence of M—which, as we just saw, is sometimes alone right—see also Bartoletti 37 ff.

(Hude:) verba μετέστη . . . κατέστη, quae in Laur. omittuntur, qui pro spuriis habenda sint non dubito, quibus deletis omnia recte se habent. Quorum parte priore, μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία, quam ineptam et otiosam Stahlius appellat, glossator, verba τὰ τῶν τετρ. . . . μεταπεσόντα explicans, 'libertas rei publicae restituta est' exprimere voluit . . . Glossa verbi ἐκακοῦτο est posterior pars . . . Scholiasta adnotans: **ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν υ′] κείμενον· μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη μετὰ τῶν υ′** utramque scripturam in codd. suis invenit, qua re locum antiquo iam tempore additamentis corruptam fuisse efficitur."[55]

(Stahl:) καὶ αὐτὸς δέ, ἐπειδὴ [**μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία**] καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη, μετὰ τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου [**ἐκακοῦτο**], ἄριστα φαίνεται etc.

(Herwerden, following Brandisius:) καί αὐτὸς δέ, ἐπειδὴ μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καί ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη [με-] τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα <τε> ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο, ἄριστα φαίνεται etc.[56]

One trouble is that, as often elsewhere in Thuc., there are several layers of corruption. To begin with, the CG and M agreement, though it teases critics, is illusory. As is shown in Appendix I, Lists 1–2, M has many omissions (and repetitions) of exactly this length (c. 36 letters); and this is not the only place where this MS omits an interpolation by mistake. (Appendix 1, List 1 fin.; cf. also the list of similar places given above s.v. 3.87.2.) What misled the copyist, copying from *beta*'s text, was homoioteleuton combined with homoioarcton, and the lineation of M's exemplar (or pro-exemplar) was this:

. . . καί αὐτός τε ἐπειδὴ
μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καί ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη
μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα (κ.τ.λ.)

What confirms this suspicion is the fact, otherwise unexplainable, that M shares μετὰ with E F A B.

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[55] *Commentarii critici* ad loc. (p. 66). Hude does not identify this note, which for some reason he did not include in his edition of the scholia. I assume to be the same as that which according to Andrewes (HCT ad loc., quoting it without the lemma and without the last three words) is in the margin of G. But it seems old (not composed by the copyist); it would have been skipped by other Beta copyists because they had this line of text.

If the whole supplement *is* a gloss, I would explain it not as Hude, but thus: (ἐπειδὴ) μετέστη<σε> ἡ δημοκρατία (τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων) καί ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη<σε>. On such dropped endings in scholia see Ch. V, 1.

[56] Graphically, this does not really "work": one cannot really see any cause for interpolation of με-. As to the sense, it is verbose; but its worst feature is an impossible separation (or if you like, pause) which it requires between τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων and μεταπεσόντα. The whole sentence is very carefully constructed: see s.v. in Ch. IX.

Thus our disagreement is between *beta* and *alpha*, which means that one of two things happened. One might suppose (1) that *alpha* omitted a line by mechanical error. (E.g., 38 letters thus: ... καί αὐτός τε ἐπειδὴ μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καί ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη με- τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα κ.τ.λ.). Alternatively, (2) this material was actually not in *Theta*: it had been omitted from, or interpolated into, a much older MS, and *beta* has got it from its collation exemplar (*Lambda*).

Of these alternatives, (2) seems better. For one thing, the supplement's age seems implied by Hude's scholium. For another, the C G text makes perfect sense, either because it is right, or because it is old enough to have been smoothly banalized; whereas with *beta*'s supplement the text—at least as it stands—is a kind of monstrosity. One sees this precisely in Herwerden's clever attempt to incorporate it; for in spite of the "critical" neatness of his changes, the text itself remains pleonastic, ugly (such rhymes!) and fairly bristling with historical difficulty.[57]

There is thus a very strong temptation to omit, as do most editors, the whole supplement, as a fairly intelligible fragment of paraphrase, stupidly imported by *beta*. But two small things trouble one. (A) Stahl, Krüger and Jones are right in that καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα[ς] κατέστη seems not Hellenistic or Byzantine, but Thucydidean.[58] (I say this even though Krüger's transposition is drastic; and Stahl's text looks wrong because ἐκακοῦτο, in this context, looks still more plainly Thucydidean.[59]) Then (B) *Alpha*'s text is after all *not* impeccable; for καὶ αὐτός τε is queer. Thus editors either excise καὶ or change to δὲ—yet not quite convincingly. In view of the interweaving at the end (ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων, αἰτιαθείς ὡς ξυγκατέστησε) one senses that

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[57] In particular, not only is the idea of δημοκρατία repeated in ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, but the word itself seems chronologically difficult. On this and most other matters see the excellent, admirably cautious discussion of Andrewes, *HCT* ad loc.

[58] This is one of Andrewes' few mistakes: he rejects it mainly on account of the corrupt plural. But this same corruption occurs at Plato *Ap*. 24 c εἰς ἀγῶνα καθιστάναι ἀνθρώπους: ἀγῶνας W t. For "come to trial" (plural subject, singular noun) Burnet compares Antiphon *Tetr*. Γ.α.1 τούς καθαροὺς εἰς ἀγῶνα καθιστάντας, Lys. 19.6 ὅταν πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ αἰτίᾳ εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστῶσιν, 27.6 εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστάντες, Xen. *Lac*. 8.4 ἄρχοντας ... περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστῆσαι.

Note also the weakness of Hude's explanation of this second half of the gloss, "Glossa verbi ἐκακοῦτο est posterior pars."

[59] 8.45.1 ἔπειτα ἐκάκου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσον ἐδύνατο μάλιστα τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὰ πράγματα. As for the participle, Krüger compares Plato *Epist*. 7 init. μετέπεσε τὰ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τότε πολιτεία. (Cf. LSJ s.v. μεταπίπτω I.3).

Thuc. might have written something like, "And later both on his own behalf, when he was brought to his own trial, and in company of the oligarchy when, overthrown, it was being attacked by the people, he made the finest defense" (i.e. of both causes).

I print what I think could approximate the right text; I show some of the lineation that preceded the corruption:

καί αὐτός τε ἐπειδὴ
    [μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία]
καί ἐς ἀγῶνα[ς] κατέστη   18 letters
τά <τε> τῶν τετρακοσίων   18
ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο,
ἄριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων, αἰτιαθεὶς ὡς ξυγκατέστησε, θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος.

This of course is not certain. (For example, we could incorporate *beta*'s μετά by taking Antiphon as subject of both verbs: καὶ αὐτός τε ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα κατέστη μετά τε τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντων ἐκακοῦτο, ἄριστα φαίνεται κ.τ.λ.: this changes only the inflection.) But for other examples of this 18-letter line see Ch. X, 4. Here, abetted both by initial καὶ and the ending -η, a copyist skipped καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα κατέστη and when it was reintroduced it brought with it a piece of paraphrase.[60] This text, I suspect, could be that which Valla had (on his word order, see in Ch. VI fin.); it seems best to fit the structure of the whole sentence (on which see in Ch. IX); above all it gives an exact sense to αὐτός τε, and the second τε would be excised as pointless after the line had dropped out.

Summary of Chapter Two. There is, then, a core of firm evidence that individual MSS, the hyparchetypes, *Theta* and the extra-stemmatic collation exemplars did each incorporate glosses, some of which seem to come from scholia. I see in these examples three significant, or possibly significant, qualities. (1) *There are relatively few of them.*[61] *It is*

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[60] Probably, this addition preceded the change to ἀγῶνας. Of course the contrary is also possible. For perhaps the interpolation was a conjecture, meant to explain both that plural and the (misunderstood) adverbial καί. But in general, in my experience, those explanations are best that impute a minimum of folly and boldness to imaginary Correctors.

[61] 8.89.1, which may seem to indicate otherwise, is abnormally corrupt even for Book 8 (8.68.2 is more nearly typical: see Ch. IX init.). In this chapter I have cited, for whatever reason, less than 100 places altogether.

true that these examples, culled in part from works about the stemma codicum, are not exhaustive (one could not achieve that even if one cited every place in which every editor decided "post—add.—codd. AB" etc.); and that the lists of significant MS disagreements, which served as a foundation for this chapter, would naturally neglect to mention instances of small stemmatic interest (for example 7.69.2 where M has ἀτιμάζειν, a *lectio facilior* for ἀφανίζειν, or at 6.40.2 where C has βουλομένους for δυναμένους:[62] there are doubtless other examples). Also, I have postponed till later in this study, as being specially illustrative of this or that topic, other examples of "interpolation in some MSS" that might have been cited above (see especially in Ch. IX). But even if there are double or triple the number cited here, they are still not many. This does not preclude a more extensive, earlier corruption (Chapters VII, XI); but neither do these few certain examples authorize us to suppose that. The spectacular, somewhat demoralizing demonstrations of Cobet, Rutherford, Marchant and Lamb—"demonstrations" that seem to haunt Thucydidean scholarship, even when they have been refuted—are specious, because they combine a few scraps of hard evidence with a mass of quasi-evidence taken from the recc. and from editorial conjecture.[63]

Then (2) *nearly every one is immediately intelligible*; that is, one sees at once the point of the gloss, or the mechanics of corruption. This does not authorize us to reject every putative gloss that cannot be explained; still, it makes every such conjecture more doubtful, and *ceteris paribus* this consideration should tip the scales. I have noticed

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[62] This last sentence is harder. Δυναμένους seems guaranteed by the great majority of codd. and by Thucydidean idiom, and is accepted without discussion by nearly all edd. Yet of course, at times C is alone right, and Hude prints βουλομένους, which it is hard to see as *facilior*.

[63] Cobet, for example, was refuted in pedantic detail by Herbst; but Cobet's brilliance is such that his views are indelible. As for Marchant, he later recanted. The Introduction to Book 2 which I cited at the beginning of this chapter was published in 1891 and "dedicated ominously to Dr. Rutherford" (thus Gildersleeve, *AJP* 13 [1892] 257); in 1909, basing his text on that of Stuart Jones, he published book 3 and wrote in his introduction (xl f.): "But the MSS are an average lot; not one of them is of great merit... but we may be confident that they yield between them a very fair text exhibiting in general only those forms of error that become familiar to readers of Greek MSS. The present editor, at least, readily confesses that a larger acquaintance with MSS has caused him to withdraw entirely from the opinion of those who detect incessant interpolations and wholesale corruption in these very ordinary MSS." So in book 3 he in fact brackets little; and what is curious—from Book 2, apparently, he later removed the dedication to Rutherford! Of course, Rutherford's Book 4 was itself dedicated "piae memoriae Caroli Gabrielis Cobet."

only three or four places (see on 1.39.1, 8.38.3, 8.68.2, 5.16.2) where we seem certainly to have in the text the opaque "relic" of a gloss. More often, one suspects that not an ἔμβλημα but the text itself is maimed. We have already noticed that phenomenon (i.e. the text corrupted mechanically, so that a paraphrase seems embedded in it; e.g. 2.78.2, 8.69.4); it will later be noticed more often and discussed in greater depth (e.g. often in Ch. IX: book 8 contains abnormally many examples).

And finally (3)—if we except the somewhat grotesque contributions of E—*not one is larger than a word or a small phrase.*

All three facts point to a psychological norm: that certainly between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, and probably long before that—as is hinted by the paucity of words condemned by collation exemplars—Byzantine copyists and correctors were minimally "creative" in conjecture. They did not consciously seek to improve the paradosis by interpolating whole words and phrases, but tried to hand it down as it had come to them. That is why, often at the cost of a text that today seems difficult, they preserved the embedded relics of earlier corruption.

CHAPTER THREE

EVIDENCE OF A LONG INSCRIPTION

It so happens that fragments of much of the peace treaty given in 5.47 have been preserved in a contemporary inscription (I.G. I^3 83 [=I.G.I^2 86, Tod 72]), which seems to be the official copy, to be set up on the Acropolis at Athens, referred to in the text itself at Thuc. 5.47.11. On the stone, only the tips of the lines survive, "from the right-hand edge, about 12 letters of each line at the top to about 6 at the bottom (out of 77)" (Gomme *HCT* on Thuc. 5.47). But the stone is engraved στοιχηδόν so that with the help of the MS text of Thuc. it can be restored, as Tod thought (Tod I. p. 177), "with practical certainty"; and since it covers about 57 lines of the OCT (47.1–47.8 . . . ὀμόσαι δὲ) it gives a precious glimpse into the state of the MS text of Thucydides.[1]

The inscription suggests that our text has suffered, among other things, (a) a general subtle banalization (e.g. in the matter of hiatus and moveable nu, πᾶς and ἅπας[2]), (b) at least five very probable (see below) lacunae of 12, 18, 17, 11 and 7 letters, (c) three small transpositions of proper names, and (d) one certain interpolation (5.47.4 ταῖς πόλεσιν: discussed below).[3]

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[1] And not only that of Thucydides; perhaps this "precious glimpse" should be taken to heart by textual criticism generally.

There is one rather notorious conflict between the Thuc. MSS and an inscription, viz. 1.51.4 ὧν ἦρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ †Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου†: Δρακοντίδης I.G. I^2 295. Here, all one can say is that an error might have been made for any reason by Thuc. himself, by a copyist, by a corrector, or (not quite inconceivably) by a stone-cutter. See e.g. Lewis, *Towards A Historian's Text* etc. 152–3. He thinks we have but two real alternatives: either Thuc. made a psychological mistake—"intending to write the name of one son of Leagoras he in fact wrote the name of the other, more notorious one"—or "an editor corrected the unfamiliar to the familiar."

[2] I.e. the inscription drops nu before a vowel, uses ἅπας after one: the MSS do the opposite. (Cf. Newman, *Politics* II p. lv & n. 1: in one of the two families of Aristotle MSS hiatus is avoided: "in all probability the less polished version is the more genuine.") Very interesting therefore is 47.7 μετεῖναι ἁπάσαις *recte* CGE: πάσαις cett. Cf. below on 5.77. In these matters, what often strikes one most is not the corruption but the stubborn, thousand-year-old fidelity of some MSS. And the more general congruence between the stone and the MSS, enabling us to restore the former without any large problems, is surely itself edifying.

[3] The corruption is summarized, and characterized, sanely by Reinach *L'épigraphie*

Before considering the interpolation, perhaps it will not be amiss to digress, briefly, on the nature of this "glimpse" of general corruption. It is the briefest glimpse yet seems a real one, not an illusion; or in other words, *not* a kind of circular reasoning, by which an unknown inscription is falsely "restored" from an unreliable, or different, MS version which is then itself falsely "emended" from the inscription. In the MS text, certain corruptions have been hypothesized; these are mostly "orthographic" and trivial (otherwise, the attempt to restore the στοιχηδόν-engraved stone simply would not "work": but it does work); but that the hypothesized corruption is nevertheless real, even if uncertain in this or that place, seems indicated by the following facts.

(A) That Thuc. himself must have tried to, and was able to, copy at least some version of the document verbatim seems indicated by the MS text itself; that is, by the palpable fact that—except in a very few doubtful places—he did so. Here Gomme (loc. cit.) is right; and the appeal by Buck, Bury, Tod and others to the practice of other ancient writers seems pointless. For in defiance of every "norm" of Ancient Historiography, Thuc. has in point of fact put himself to the trouble of copying out virtually (apart from the five disputable places) every last word of this arid and extremely repetitious document—just as in 5.77 and 79, equally anomalously according to Buck, he has reproduced two documents in Doric. And since Thuc. here transcends, or at least has nothing to do with, ancient "norms" in this, Buck's, Bury's and Tod's contention that entire accuracy in matters like this is a modern requirement, seems pointless.[4]

(B) That copyists of MSS, on the other hand, are less attentive and careful is an equally palpable fact, proven above all by the MSS themselves testifying against one another. Two aspects of it are specially pertinent here. On the one hand, on account of the repetitions,

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grecque 333–5; cf. M.N. Tod *Greek Historical Inscriptions* vol. 1 p. 177–8. My references shortly below to Buck are to *CP* 8 (1913) 152 n. 1 and 155–6 n. 1. I here ignore Kirchhoff's conjecture at 47.7 χρήσθω ἡγεμονεύουσα for ἡγεμονίαν ἐχέτω: this would be an instance of a gloss replacing the text, but is proven wrong by Valla (see below). See also D. Cohen *Mnem.* ix (1956) 289–95 and references there.

[4] It would be well especially today, when more than ever in academic thought the generic tyrannizes over that which is *sui generis*, to remember two simple points made by Croiset (*Thucydide, Histoire* etc. p. xxvii): "D'abord, qu'est-ce qu'unc loi du genre historique à l'époque de Thuc., c'est à dire à un moment où la genre historique existe à peine?" and "Non seulement Thuc. n'a suivi aucune tradition antérieure, mais encore il n'a jamais eu de disciples qui aient fidèlement reproduit sa manière en toutes choses."

lacunae tend to be abnormally frequent precisely in formal documents. Thus, although for certain whole books (e.g. Book 6: see index to Appendix I) there are scarcely half a dozen long omissions, yet here—to list only the longest—at 5.47.2 codd. F A B (followed by the *recentior* H) omit 28 letters (underlined) ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ ξυμμάχους; in this same place (47.2) C (followed by K Pg H) omits those 28 letters and also 98 more down to . . . ξυμμάχους τέχνῃ; at 47.4 G omits, then adds in the margin, the 39 letters ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν . . . ἄν; at 47.8 codd. AB omit (this time without a homoioteleuton so simple) the 19 letters καί οἱ ξυμμάχων τούτων; at 47.11 codd. CG omit 61 letters (counting adscripts) ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν τοῦ . . . ἀγορᾷ; and at 47.12 cod. M omits 41 letters (without any homoioteleuton) ἐὰν . . . ταύταις.[5] On the other hand, equally demonstrably, there is a constant, if subtle, tendency towards *banalization* of the text, as is shown best precisely in the case of the other treaty just mentioned; for in 5.77 nine or ten Doric forms, all of which have been conjectured or accepted by modern editors, were lost or almost lost in the *Theta* family, and preserved by the *recentiores* alone.[6]

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[5] Some of my information here has come from Arnold (whose *sigla*, as always, I modernize). For lists of omissions see Appendix I.

Herwerden, who for some reason tends to ignore or slight the readings of C and who noticed only the first of these many omissions, nevertheless felt encouraged by it to posit yet another one, at 47.11 where (before καταθέντων δὲ καὶ etc.) he proposed (*exempli gratia*) Ἠλείους δὲ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν ἀγορᾷ. The repetition would have caused the omission (just as it caused C to omit the preceding clause). Gomme favored this idea (*HCT* ad loc.: Andrewes there opposes it); and to me it seems plausible not for any historical reason but because "the Argives, the Mantineans, the Eleians" are elsewhere always (viz. 11 times) pedantically specified.

[6] 5.77.1 Ἀσαναῖοι **H** (& Kirchhoff): Ἀθηναῖοι cett. || Ἐπιδαύρω **P13** (& Ahrens): -ου cett. || πολεμίως **H** (Ahrens): -ους cett. 5.77.4 (for this clause see also below) αἰ μὲν λῆν **Ot² J K** (Ahrens) || δόμεν **H**: δομέναι **H2** (δόμεν αἰ Ahrens): δῶμεν **C2**: δομον cett. 5.77.5 ἦμεν **H** (Ahrens) 5.77.6 Πελοποννάσω **C2**: -άσου cett. || ἀμόθι Stahl: ἀμόθι **E**: ἀμόθει **M**: ἀμοθεὶ cett. 5.77.8 ἐπιάλλην Stahl: ἀπιάλλην **A B**: πιάλλην γρ **H**: ἀπιάλλειν cett. 5.77.8 αἰ δὲ τί κα ἄλλο δόκῃ "ex libris dett. Goeller, Ahrens" (Arnold's note): τι ἄλλο δόκῃ **H**: τι καὶ ἄλλο "vulgo" (Arnold's note): τι δόκῃ cett.

At the much discussed crux 5.77.4, H² has between the lines αἶμεν ὕλην. According to Alberti ("Qu.T." I. 32) this gives "una parola che in sé e per sé dà un senso, ma nel contesto è assolumente impossibile." Yet perhaps: περὶ δὲ τῶ σιῶ σύματος εἶμεν ὕλην τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις ὅρκον, δόμεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμόσαι, "Concerning the offering to the god there is to be a wood for an enclosure (ὅρκον) for the Epidaurians, and they are to swear that they will give it." On ὅρκος (cp. ἕρκος, ἑρκάνη) see Hesychius s.v., and also A.C. Laird, "Laconian ὅρκος in Thucydides V. 77," *CP* 2 (1907) 337–8 (and note that Laird did not know of the reading in H).

I know that these Doric forms have been suspected by some, as Hellenistic interpolations. That suspicion seems based on certain very improbable assumptions. They should be accepted not so much because of the haphazard way in which uncompre-

(C) The document itself, even as given by the MSS, seems characterized by extreme regularity.[7] Not even Gomme, who points to its pedantic repetitions, seems to have noticed the extent of them. Most strikingly, the five and a half lines of OCT from 47.3 τρόπῳ ὁποίῳ to ταύτην τὴν πόλιν are identical with 47.4 τρόπῳ ὁποίῳ... ταύτην τὴν πόλιν; the approximately 3 lines that precede these in either case are also identical, except by an inversion and slight change that is at once intelligible. For this reason, as also because of considerations (A) and (B) above, I think that Jones is indisputably right to assume that μηδεμιᾷ τῶν πόλεων, which not only the inscription but even the else perfect regularity of the MS text demands, was omitted by mistake of copyists, on account of the similar words πόλιν . . . πόλεων; and that ταῖς πόλεσι is thus an interpolation. For ἁπάσαις now had nothing in this sentence to refer to.

But two facts really clinch the matter. First, the omitted phrase was *not* quite lost. It would have been helpful if Powell had specified the "recc." that, according to him, have it. But in any case—since *Theta*'s text offers no difficulty—it is far easier to imagine the omission than a conjectural insertion by a Byzantine scholar (thus rightly Gomme). Secondly, Kirchhoff's naive general attempt to emend the MSS against the stone was supported, unexpectedly but decisively, by Valla's Latin here.[8] For at 47.6 we find *intraverint* confirming

hending copyists preserved them, and not because Thuc. often ignores the "laws" of style, that would have prohibited Doric forms in his text: but because there is not one scrap of good evidence that Hellenistic "editing" radically doctored texts. (On that problem generally, see Ch. XI passim.)

[7] Cf. Alberti, "Qu. T." VI pp. 83–4 on the similar regularity of the treaty in 5.23. The clauses repeated verbatim in such treaties were presumably "al fine di evitare ogni eventuale contestazione": he cites W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* II, 2 Leipzig 1902, 727 ff.

That state secretaries and/or stone-cutters did make *errors* is clear from Alan Henry, *Prescripts of Athenian Decrees*, e.g. p. 5 and n. 15 (inscription of 450–449 B.C.: possibly, the secretary and proposer have changed places), p. 16 (before 378–7 B.C.: possibly, an enactment formula is erroneously repeated) and especially p. 45 (343–2 B.C.: certainly—because it seems exposed by the grammar—the secretary formula was omitted and then, so as not to waste the stone, inserted in the only space available, under the superscript). But from this it seems improper to conclude as Henry (p. 105) that verbatim accuracy was not expected. And even if this were true in general (cf. E.G. Turner's similar opinion, discussed in Ch. XI), it could not shake the facts of the present case.

[8] See Ferlauto, *Il testo di Tucidide* etc. pp. 20–1, D.M. Lewis, *CR* 30 (1980) 277 (reviewing Ferlauto); on Valla see also below Ch. VI. So far as I know, Ferlauto was first to notice these readings, Lewis the first to grasp how important they are. Lewis says (loc. cit. n. 1) that he has tried without success to discover Powell's "recc."

Kirchhoff's ἔλθωσιν (codd. ἔλθῃ) and *si velit* confirming Kirchhoff's βούληται (codd. βούλωνται); at 47.7 "ipsaque imperium *super exercitum* teneat" confirming (this time *pace* Kirchhoff) the inscription's ἡ δὲ πόλις μεταπεμψαμένη <τῇ στρατίᾳ> τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχέτω, and "siquidem tamen *universis civitatibus* videatur communiter in expeditionem" confirming <ἁπάσαις> ταῖς πόλεσιν. Since the stone was buried in the earth till the 1870's and since, again, nothing in *Theta*'s text invited Byzantine conjecture, this evidence is unambiguous.[9]

So in 5.47.4, ταῖς πόλεσιν, we have one sure proof of interpolation in all MSS. Still, how tame is this little stop-gap, written there by someone who sensed that something had fallen out. Radically worse, if the inscription had not vindicated them, would have been two longer phrases struck out by Krüger and Herwerden. It may be impolite to point to mistakes by scholars who wrote before the discovery in 1876 of the stone: but the temptation is too great. At 47.5 Krüger—followed by Stahl, whose edition was published in 1877—bracketed μηδὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν with the laconic comment: "wird zu strichen sein, da sonst 5.56.2 ungehörig wäre; auch ist es an sich verkehrt." At this same place, 47.5, Herwerden is equally laconic and still more foolhardy; he brackets Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Μαντινείων καὶ Ἠλείων, saying only, "Ne praestiterim quidem verba τὴν . . . εἶναι esse Thucydidea."

There are two lessons here. Krüger does not allow for the complexity, and frequent opacity, of concrete historical reality; Herwerden underestimates the pedantic exactness of Greek legal craftsmen, Greek stone cutters, Greek scribes, and that which is, at least here, Thucydidean.

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[9] Let us here note the sagacity of Jones, who in 5.47 (as often elsewhere) almost infallibly chose the right readings. On the one hand, though he was an avowed "conservative," though he had not the recc. to help him, and though he denied MS authority to Valla, and probably did not consult him, he sided here with the emending 19th-century; on the other hand, he rightly avoided Kirchhoff's fanciest conjecture (at 47.7: see n. 3 above) which Reinach thought "practically certain."

CHAPTER FOUR

'LINGUISTIC' EVIDENCE

In passing from an inscription to "linguistic evidence," one has the sensation of passing from one extreme to another. For although in theory the two things should be closely akin,[1] yet in practise, so far as I can see, "linguistic evidence" tends to consist of shaky, very subjective arguments about that which is and is not "Classical," and is the weakest of all grounds of excision.

By means of it one could perhaps safely condemn an expression as spurious if two conditions were met: (a) the form (form, not idiom: on that see below) is not attested for Thucydides' time; (b) the expression is sufficiently common, so that the form ought to be attested. Thus—in the only two convincing instances known to me—at 8.86.1 πρεσβευταί and at 8.77.1 οἱ δέκα πρεσβευταί were condemned as glosses by Cobet and Herwerden, and excised by subsequent editors including Jones on the grounds that πρεσβευταί is not found (for πρεσβεῖς) in inscriptions before 250 B.C. (thus Steup ad loc. LSJ s.v. also condemns it here):

> Optime Thomas Magister: ἁμαρτάνει ὁ λέγων ἐπὶ πληθυντικοῦ πρεσβευταί καὶ πρεσβευτάς. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν δοκιμῶν εἶπε τοῦτο. Diserto testimonio, quod stabilitur ingenti locorum numero, tandem plus tribuamus quam paucissimis locis, ubi vitiosam suam loquendi consuetudinem in veterum scripta intulerunt Graeculi. (Herwerden *St. Thuc.* on 8.86.1)

But this one certain example is otherwise instructive. In adding to Thomas Magister's simple argument from silence, Herwerden does not improve it. His "ingens locorum numerus" on the basis of which (here as often elsewhere) he would emend the few anomalous cases, matters much less than does the entire absence of this form from inscriptions in which we should expect it.

And who can be sure even in this? No doubt, inscriptions which

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[1] I.e., because they demand the same kinds of exact knowledge. The radical critics Cobet and Herwerden, for example, were both keenly interested in inscriptions; while on the other hand, Kirchhoff's exact reconstructions demand closest attention to idiom.

mention ambassadors are copious enough, so that they "ought" to attest that form. But like armies, arguments from silence are not always saved by mere numbers. At times one anomalous instance preserved by chance explodes a rule that seemed impregnable. The following example has nothing to do with interpolation, but seems worth citing in this context. At 8.108.1 κατέπλευσε δ' . . . ἐς τὴν Σάμον, ἀγγέλλων ὅτι (κ.τ.λ.), Herwerden's critical note reads: "Meineke cit. ἀγγελῶν. At cf. titul. sec. V in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1880 p. 226, 22 sq. Κήρυκας—ἡ βουλὴ πεμψάτω ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀγγέλλοντας κατὰ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα, ubi potius futurum expectes quam hic." But if this queer reading had not been cut on stone, but had come to us via the MSS, Herwerden, appealing to his "ingens locorum numerus," would doubtless have tried to emend it.

So, he does emend at 6.27.1 ὅσοι Ἑρμαῖ ἦσαν λίθινοι ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων—εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ἡ τετράγωνος ἐργασία, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς—μιᾷ νυκτὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα. Haack objected to this as late language; Herwerden thought the suspicion confirmed by the Patmore scholium Ἑρμαῖ λίθινοι· ἡ τετράγωνος ἐργασία. But this secondary evidence was demolished by Dover (*CR* n.s. 5 [1955] 135 f.: see here Ch. V. 3), who also defends the language. For "'style', 'type', 'pattern' (of sculpture)" he cites I.G.ii^2 1666 39–41 μ[ετ]όποια ἐργάσ[ασ]θαι... τ]ὴν αὐτὴν ἐρ[γα]σίαν ποιο[ῦ]ν[τα] το[ῖς] ἐν [τῶι ἱερῶι εἰργασμένοις]. It is true that this and other evidence[2] is from the fourth century B.C. onwards; "nevertheless, if a scholiastic comment on the shape of the herms had intruded into Thucydides' text, we should have expected τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα; cf. Paus. viii.39.6 . . . and x.12.6" (ibid. p. 136, and cf. n. 1). As regards the content, such "glossing" of Attic customs is characteristic of Thuc., as was shown by Ridley (*Hermes* 109 [1981] 25–46). That, in part, is *why* his text became a quarry for the compilers of Attic lexica, on which the Thucydidean and Patmore "scholiasts" then drew.

When not a word or a form but an idiom is in question we must, it seems, tread still more cautiously. Even common speech may seem to us "pleonastic," as to Cobet αὐτόθεν ἐξ Ἄργους, cited on p. i of this study. Similarly, it is hard to see the source of the fact stated in parenthesis in LSJ s.v. ὕδωρ, I.2: "rain-water, rain . . . More definitely ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ Xen. *An.* 4.2.2, Aristid. *Or.* 50 (26) 35 (but ἐξ οὐρανοῦ

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[2] Dover compares ibid 24–26 and Lucian *Rhet. Praec.* 9, Paus. v. 10.2.

is a gloss in Thuc. 2.77)." It does make a difference that here C P omit the phrase: this suggests that it was not in *Theta*; but there are so many parallels for it that a reader of LSJ would gladly do without that parenthesis.[3] Similarly, there seem no adequate grounds for condemning at 2.15.4 τῇ δωδεκάτῃ . . . ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι (del. Torstriff and Cobet, secl. Jones). Normal is μηνός, but as Steup points out, inscriptions do attest the idiom.[4]

Lastly, latent in Herwerden's attack on πρεσβευταί is a still more dubious kind of "linguistic" argument, which consists of saying that this or that expression, which one would gladly do without, smacks of Byzantine Greek. Very occasionally this seems almost—but not quite—decisive, as at 4.14.2 ἃ ὁρῶντες οἱ Λακ. καὶ περιαλγοῦντες τῷ πάθει ὅτιπερ αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ παρεβοήθουν: where Classen brackets because ὅτιπερ (accepted by LSJ s.v. B.1.a) is nowhere else attested in Attic Greek. Still, this is not quite convincing, since ὅτιπερ seems akin to ὅτι δή, ὅτι ῥα, etc.; and it seems expressive here.

The indictment is more specious at 6.40.1, where it seems confirmed by other evidence: . . . μεταγνόντες τὸ τῆς πόλεως ξύμπασι κοινὸν αὔξετε, ἡγησάμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἂν καὶ ἴσον καὶ πλέον οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὑμῶν ἤπερ τὸ τῆς πόλεως πλῆθος μετασχεῖν, εἰ δ' ἄλλα βουλήσεσθε, καὶ τοῦ παντὸς κινδυνεῦσαι στερηθῆναι. Here Marchant and Jones, following Krüger, delete the whole phrase, presumably for any of four reasons: (1) the form ἤπερ, not attested in Classical Greek, "betrays the marginal gloss" (Marchant); (2) the phrase τὸ τῆς πόλεως πλῆθος seems itself pleonastic;[5] (3) the whole phrase seems otiose, not only because it is not needed but also because it is unpleasantly close in form to τὸ τῆς πόλεως ξύμπασι κοινὸν and because Athenagoras tends to be terse, oblique, sly; and (4) it is just the kind of gloss that scholiasts do often

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[3] Xen. *An.* 4.2.2 οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο . . . καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. What is the difference? Or should we emend the text of Xenophon too? (Marchant does not, though he does that of Thuc.) Or should we say that the "Graeculi" imported it from the one place to the other? The present phrase, though Romilly keeps it, is rejected even by Alberti. But cp. also 8.42.1 ὑετός τε καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ξυννέφελα ὄντα πλάνησιν τῶν νεῶν . . . παρέσχεν: where else is ξυννεφελία but in the sky?

[4] Steup cites Dittenberger, *Orientis Gr. Sel.* Vol. I p. 90, line 26 ἐν μηνὶ Δύστρωι τῆι ἐνδεκάτηι. Admittedly this is Hellenistic (Ptolemy III Euergetes, c. 247–221 BC). Dittenburger cites two other instances, and also the present passage of Thuc. "ubi editores sine idonea causa numerum diei expunxerunt."

[5] As Krüger points out, 3.47.2 is a poor analogy. There, because of the rhythm and word order, τῆς ἀντικαθισταμένης πόλεως has its own force, akin to that of a genitive absolute: "and when a city rebels you have the populace as your ally."

write.[6] And yet Dover, perhaps rightly unimpressed by most of this, cleverly saves the phrase by emending to ὧνπερ, an idea suggested by the scholium, "The good among you should realize that this is just and more than just, that you should share in the same things in which the city's rabble shares." As he says, this misconstrues, since ἴσον καὶ πλέον must go with μετασχεῖν—"The 'good' should realize that this [τοῦτο, viz. to contribute to the common good] is to have an equal and even greater share" etc.[7]—but in thus ignoring ᾗπερ it seems right. Note that now the phrase is not otiose: though he dislikes the social distinction, Athenagoras sarcastically emphasizes it. Thus, for once, our "linguistic" suspicion is confirmed. But there was no "marginal gloss," and this tiny substitution might have been quite unconscious.[8]

After Cobet, the most passionate devotee of this kind of argument was Rutherford, who became hypersensitive to Byzantine "adscripts" on account of his long work with the Aristophanic scholia. It should be admitted that like Cobet and Herwerden, Rutherford was in fact abnormally sensitive to Thucydides (see e.g. his acute remarks in Book 4, xiii–xxx). Like theirs, his "emendations" tend to be attractive even when plainly wrong; they have also a certain humor; and they are often subtly attentive to the habits both of copyists and of annotators.[9] The trouble is that (except when he plainly blunders) there exists no kind of proof either pro or contra. And since there is constant danger of imposing one's own rules on what is "Classical," it most often seems best to cling to the sole concrete evidence of the MSS even in spite of some discomfort.

Thus for example at 4.102.4. This sentence, which seems often

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[6] On the gratuitous supplementing of comparatives, see below in Ch. VIII, 3, and on -περ forms in the scholia cf. Rutherford Book IV p. xiii.

[7] Thus I see no need of the pregnant, quasi-adverbial function which Dover here (*HCT* ad loc.) assigns to τοῦτο. The rest of his long note—citing corruptions akin to this (ᾗ inserted after a comparative; ᾗπερ for ᾗ, etc.)—is excellent.

[8] Also rightly, even though he emends it, Dover is not overimpressed by the argument from silence condemning ᾗπερ: he points to ὅτιπερ at 4.14.2, which seems authentic yet is attested only in that place.

[9] For some of the examples here cited, see Rutherford's introduction to book IV pp. xxxviii ff. Not only in this section but also elsewhere, I take sharp exception to Rutherford (see above all on 4.63.1). Perhaps, therefore, I should emphasize that my esteem for him is real, not a kind of rhetorical foil for the argument. To *possibilities* in the Thuc. scholia, for example, he is more constantly sensitive and imaginative than anybody else. But like Herwerden, and like his beloved Cobet, he seems to overrate the extent to which his knowledge is of any actual use in editing.

misunderstood, is interesting for other reasons. I underline two phrases that are closely related, and bracket what is bracketed as otiose by Dobree, Classen, Rutherford, Jones and others:

> . . . ἣν Ἀμφίπολιν Ἅγνων ὠνόμασεν
> ὅτι ἐπ' ἀμφότερα
> περιρρέοντος τοῦ Στρυμόνος,
> [διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτὴν,] τείχει μακρῷ ἀπολαβὼν
> ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἐς ποταμὸν,
> περιφανῆ ἐς θάλασσάν τε καὶ τὴς ἤπειρον ᾤκισεν.

> Hagnon called it 'Both-ways-facing city,' because by having, since the Strymon runs both ways round it, cut the city off with a long wall from the river's northern arc to its southern[10] [in order to enclose it], he built it as a dominant presence both towards the mainland on the north and seawards on the south.

In translating this sentence thus "hypotactically," in order to show that it has but one main verb, one betrays it somewhat. As often in Thuc., the structure is neither hypotactic nor paratactic; that is, there is a kind of simultaneity of interrelated ideas, which are neither presented in sequence nor yet subordinated one to another in any way except by the word order. The word order has two main features: (a) it is roughly chiastic, with the most important ideas—those that explain the name "Amphipolis"—on the ends; and (b) the most important phrase of all—ἐπ' ἀμφότερα—comes first, where, not yet explained, it is too easily obscured by its humble *grammatical* function, which is that of modifying the genitive absolute.[11]

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[10] This is without doubt what is meant by ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἐς ποταμὸν (see the ensuing discussion, and the next note). The reader is to imagine the Strymon running southwards into the hill of Amphipolis, arching westward right around it, then running southward to the sea. I use the terms "north" and "south" though Thuc. does not, in order to show what some translators seem to miss: that ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἐς ποταμόν and ἐς . . . τε . . . καὶ . . . all refer to the same fact.

[11] A favorite device of Thuc. Compare, for example, 4.87.2 μάρτυρας μὲν θεοὺς . . . ποιήσομαι ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἥκων οὐ πείθω, γῆν δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν δῃῶν πειράσομαι βιάζεσθαι. Here recent translators, thinking that the weight must fall on the antithetical verbs, mistranslate as Smith in his Loeb edition, "I shall make the gods . . . my witnesses that, though I came for your good, *I cannot persuade you*" etc. But "cannot" is nowhere in the Greek. Rather, Hobbes is palpably right: "that my counsel which you refuse *was for your good*" etc. But in order to get this in English, he had to overrule the grammar; and in translating 4.102.3 one is almost tempted to ignore the (probable—though not certain) fact that ἐπ' ἀμφότερα modifies the genitive absolute, in order to convey the more important fact that it points ahead to περιφανῆ . . . τε . . . καὶ . . ., and to translate: "he built it as a dominant presence in both directions (ἐπ' ἀμφότερα): both towards . . . and towards . . ." etc. For when Jowett and Graves say

This packing of competing ideas into one construction, in which the hierarchy of ideas relies heavily on rhythm and word order—explains the unusual "purpose" construction. A purpose clause with a finite verb might disturb the subtle balance of these juggled phrases; a future participle would be awkward with two other participles; and the other "Thucydidean" possibility, τοῦ + infinitive,[12] is impossible coming right after a genitive absolute: the prepositional phrase seems just right.

For the supposed gloss two explanations have been given. According to Classen it explains the genitive absolute; but the Greek of those three words is so plain that one can scarcely see why anyone should have glossed it. According to Rutherford (book IV p. xxxix), "Such a use of διά with τό and the infinitive is [in later Greek] quite common in cases where a classical author would have employed ἵνα with the subjunctive or optative, or else ἐπί with the acc. of the verbal noun." Arnold defends it by citing 4.40.2 δι' ἀχθηδόνα ("to cause annoyance") and 5.53 διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ἔσπραξιν ("for the sake of exacting payment for the sacrifice"), and Graves ad loc. adds 2.89.4 διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν ("for the sake of their honor"). But Rutherford, naturally, disposes of 4.40.2 by deleting that "adscript" too; and if he had edited books 2 and 5 he would doubtless have done the same there. That διά in this idiom is not "classical" has become, simply, an axiom.

Also, there is more than one contradiction in the reasoning here. In the first place, if διὰ τὸ περιέχειν has its "Byzantine" meaning, the phrase makes good sense and seems improbably creative as a "gloss"; while if διά is used normally—so that, as Classen thought, it is a paraphrase explaining the preceding phrase—then we cannot appeal to its "idiom" for evidence of Byzantine authorship. Secondly, we happen to know that the vast majority of Rutherford's Byzantine "adscripts" are not Byzantine: they are found in the papyri (see Ch. VII). To this contradiction, which he appears not to see, Rutherford himself draws attention when he writes "δι' ἀχθηδόνα ought, as far as classical Greek goes, to mean *in distress*, *in vexation*, and so the

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that Thuc. is giving two separate reasons for the name, or when Poppo says that the reason for the name is not given till the end, or when Arnold (vol. II p. 410) expresses doubt about the meaning, they seem to miss the singleness and great beauty of this sentence, which is like a seamless garment.

[12] On this see Morris on 1.4 τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ, Goodwin *GMT* ¶ 798 fin.

'scholia' on the passage take it" etc. Who then does he imagine wrote the scholium? Either (a) "Byzantines"—in which case they explain their own idiom which is unclear to them—or (b) "Alexandrines," explaining an idiom which is unclear to them because it is Byzantine.[13]

> I cannot suppose either that any scholar who had once read the sentence 4.3.3 οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἔφασαν εἶναι ἄκρας ἐρήμους τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἣν βούληται καταλαμβάνων τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν, could ever forget the construction of δαπανᾶν. It must remain on his mind to oppress it like a nightmare every time that the memory recalls it. To see such things in Alexandrines or Byzantines does not startle . . . It is no defence of the expression that Suidas explains it (865 c) ["εἰς ἀναλώματα μεγάλα ἐμβάλλειν"]. That need mean nothing more than that the adscript τὴν πόλιν got into the text a little sooner than some others.

The meaning seems, "if he wanted the city to waste money." Thus, probably rightly, Steup's *Anhang* ad loc.; also Graves who for δαπανᾶν compares 1.141.4, 3.46.3, 7.29.[14] With the change of construction Graves compares Aristophanes *Vesp.* 720 βόσκειν ἐθέλων καὶ μὴ τούτους ἐγχάσκειν σοι. In Thuc. ἐθέλω and βούλομαι often take two constructions (see e.g. Krüger's index s.v.). With the "nominativus pendens" of the present passage Jowett very aptly compares 3.53.4 δέδιμεν . . . μὴ . . . ἄλλοις χάριν φέροντες ἐπὶ διεγνωσμένην κρίσιν καθιστώμεθα: "in order to do others a favor, we . . ." etc. There, with a plainly deliberate irony, the "we" really means "you." Here at 4.3.3, ἣν βούληται καταλαμβάνων seems to stress that capturing ἄκρας ἐρήμους will be the decision of Demosthenes alone; πόλιν δαπανᾶν, that it is the city that will spend its resources; and the grammatical contradiction, I fancy, points to the fact that, unlike the speakers, Demosthenes is a

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[13] At times Rutherford seems to imagine "Byzantine" Greeks glossing "Hellenistic" glosses; as Book IV p. l: "But this kind of explanation [viz. inserting of pronouns, to clarify Attic idiom] is not frequent, because by the time our 'scholia' were compiled, the Hellenistic love of pronouns had already corrupted our text. Indeed we may feel certain that a considerable proportion of the actual 'scholia' on pronouns are explanations of such as were introduced in Hellenistic times."

What can one say about a hypothesis so complex as this? That in Hellenistic times the text was already corrupt appears certain (see especially Ch. VII on the papyri). And doubtless, there are various "strata" of corruption. But since in particular cases it is so hard even to distinguish that which is corrupt, there is no way of testing such a theory.

[14] For δαπανᾶν transitive—as in the Suda here—see Arnold, Krüger, Steup, Graves. Bétant s.v. thinks it possible, and—*pace* Rutherford—so do I. But very true is Jowett's remark at 3.53.4: "When the doubt lies between an unusual meaning of a word or phrase and a harsh construction, the latter is in Thuc. the more probable."

person not in office. If you excise τὴν πόλιν (or take δαπανᾶν as transitive), this irony is lost and the sentence poorer.

This argument from idiom becomes, of course, a little stronger when combined with other criteria. Still, very doubtful is 2.21.1 ἐκ Σπάρτης δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν (conservant Hude, Romilly, Alberti: secl. Herwerden, Krüger, Stahl, Marchant, Jones: ποιεῖσθαι add. Cobet). The difficulties are three: (1) τὴν ἀναχώρησιν is the only instance of a substantive, rather than pronoun, serving as internal object to πείθω (cf. Steup ad loc.); (2) "Valla non vertit"; and (3) the scholium here reads χρήμασι πεισθῆναι· μετὰ πείθους χρημάτων ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ("neque scholiasta legit neque Valla"—Herwerden). All this seems formidable. But the accusative can perhaps be defended, as by the examples in Smyth 1628 (verbs taking a double object, as ὑμᾶς τοῦτο οὐ πείθω, Plato *Apol.* 37a) and 1632 (where the internal object is retained in the passive, as Thuc. 8.5.5 ὑπὸ βασίλεως γὰρ νεωστὶ ἐτύγχανε πεπραγμένος τοὺς φόρους. See also on 4.63.1). As for the scholiast, his paraphrase need not mean that he had not our text. For to explain the syntax, merely to write (e.g.) "ποιῆσαι δηλονότι" would scarcely be enough; and in paraphrasing there was not the least need to omit τοὺς φόρους. (For more consideration of this principle see Ch. V, 3, "Schol. non legit.") There remains Valla's silence: that by itself is never decisive (Ch. VI, 2). On balance, the reading—which after all is at once intelligible, and which makes the entire clause handsomely chiastic—should surely be retained as *lectio difficilior.*

The same is true of my last example (in which I underline what Stahl deletes): 8.109 πορεύεσθαι διενοεῖτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς . . ., ὅπως μέμψηταί τε τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἄντανδρον γεγενημένων καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς [ἀπώσηται add. M et (in mg.) f g a] καὶ περὶ τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς εὐπρεπέστατα ἀπολογήσεται. [ἀπολύσεται Cobet, cf. 8.87.1, 5.75.2 etc.: τὰς περὶ coni. Krüger] As was shown in Chapter II, the verb is interpolated; and one cannot be sure that the rest is sound. The accusative with ἀπολογέομαι, used in just this sense, seems elsewhere unattested, since 8.68.2 ἀπολογεῖσθαι δίκην θανατοῦ ("speak against sentence of death passing on one": LSJ s.v. I.3) seems not quite the same thing. Yet this and other parallels are close enough to make the present instance plausible;[15] the corruption is at least as

[15] I.e. because although, normally, this verb takes an internal acc. referring to

old as the scholium; the *variatio* is Thucydidean (prep. phrase/noun: Ros 179); and in any case, of all forms of corruption, the interpolation supposed by Stahl is the least likely, since one can imagine neither its mechanics nor the point of the gloss in the first place. For plainly if his text is right, nothing had to be explained.[16]

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what one speaks in one's own behalf, yet at 8.68.2, as at 8.109, the accusative seems "external," referring to what one speaks *against*.

[16] Stahl's edition is admirable in many respects; but in the failure to imagine the corruption which he posits, he seems more often at fault than any other editor. On the *variatio* see Ch. VIII, 5 (on 4.63.1) and Ros p. 159.

CHAPTER FIVE

SCHOLIASTS AND OTHER INDIRECT EVIDENCE[1]

> In scholiis ad Thucydidem nonnisi perraro inest aliquid quod non sit lectu indignum. Pleraque omnia tam puerilia sit et futilia, aut tam inepta ac stulta ut turpe sit tales quisquilias proferri in lucem . . . Notabile igitur est sicubi in istis aliquid legitur bonae frugis.
>
> Cobet[2]

> It is in fact almost always true with scholia that things are more complex than they seem.
>
> W.J. Slater

The so-called "indirect tradition"—in which, in what follows, I shall include the Thuc. scholia, but not Dionysius[3]—consists of extant scraps

[1] On the matters discussed in this chapter see especially K.J. DOVER, *CR* n.s. 5 (1955) 134–7; GRENFELL and HUNT introduction to P.Oxy. 853; KLEINLOGEL, *Philol.* 108 (1964) 233–46; LUSCHNAT, *Philol.* 98 (1954) 14–58; POPPO *Prolegomena* 66–72; J.E. POWELL, *CQ* 30 (1936) 80–93; RUTHERFORD, *Scholia Aristophanica* III, 51–73; W. SLATER, in Grant (ed.) *Editing Greek and Latin Texts* 37–61; E.S. SCHWABE, *Quaestiones de scholiorum Thucydideorum fontibus*, 65–150; R. TOSI, *Studi sulla tradizione indiretta* etc. (1988) and *Scoli-Fantasma Tucididei* (1983); E.G. TURNER, *Greek Papyri* 97–126; N.G. WILSON in *Studi classici e orientale* 33 (1983) 83–112. *Kleinlogel* discusses, mainly, the Thuc. scholia vis-à-vis the *stemma codicum*; *Luschnat*, the origins and provenance of the scholia. His protest against editorial misuse of scholia is on pp. 54–8; but mainly he tries to distinguish, more exactly than had *Poppo* and *Schwabe*, the various strata, using both external evidence (references to authors in the Suda, the scholia themselves, etc.) and internal (e.g. notes on idiom citing Demosthenes, Aischines and Thuc. seem taken from a rhetorical lexicon; or an almost identical note appearing in the Aristophanes and in the Thuc. scholia suggest a work on Attic idiom). His findings, predictably complex and hypothetical (cf. his diagram p. 48), seem of small practical use, except in that they sharpen the imagination, and warn against the constant danger of reading the so-called "scholia" naively. *Rutherford*, *Slater*, *Tosi* and *Wilson* all contain valuable concrete examples of corrupt and/or hard scholia (*Tosi* in *Studi* etc. has an elaborate sort of typology of difficulties). On the word "scholium" itself see Rutherford pp. 20–2.

[2] *Mnemos.* 11 (1862) 359 apropos of the scholium at 1.33 which aptly quotes Demosthenes.

[3] On the basic worth of the long verbatim quotations from Thuc. by Dion. Hal., see App. III, where it is shown that he used an abnormally good text, which is cognate perhaps with the Thuc. proarchetype *Lambda* (i.e. *beta*'s collation exemplar). Dionysius can thus be accounted more a direct than an "indirect" source. (For a

of ancient scholarship,[4] and is a fertile but often treacherous source of information about the text. I divide this information roughly into four kinds which much overlap but which, in the attempt to order this chaotic material, I shall examine one by one: *verbatim quotations* (usually tiny) that preserve bits of an older and sounder text, like flies in amber; *grammatical paraphrase implying a different text*, (i.e., a treacherous kind of negative evidence: "ut videtur, Schol. non legit"); *apparent citations in Byzantine reference works*, which imply a different text; *commentary about the text* that gives, or seems to give, exact information about it.

So far as it pertains to interpolation, the first and last kinds of evidence turn out to be (now and then) the most impressive, the second (almost always) the least impressive. But with all indirect evidence, and with the scholia in particular, there are certain basic problems that seem often too little understood; so that before examining the evidence about interpolation, I shall begin by sketching the three worst. (I shall later allude passim to this analysis.)

1. *Basic problems with indirect evidence*

(A) *General corruption.* The extant indirect sources, especially scholia, tend to be radically more corrupt than the text itself of Thuc., from two basic causes: (a) the Hellenistic commentaries, reference works, etc. on which they are based, or from which they were torn, seem themselves to have been most carelessly copied,[5] and they teemed in any case with abbreviations, that are fatally easy to misunderstand.[6] Then (b) this corruption was much increased when those works, plun-

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different use to which he can be put, see below on the scholium to 5.111.) Like the collation exemplars discussed in Ch. II, Dionysius' text, usually in company of B², testifies for or against very few interpolations; see s.v. 2.42.4, 7.71.4, 7.71.7, 8.64.5.

[4] I here ignore imitations of Thuc. by other writers: since imitators are not copyists they give no firm evidence, especially about interpolation. Two abnormally convincing specimens from Diodorus, which seem to expose lacunae in our text, are quoted in App. I ad fin.; some few others are cited elsewhere in this study. (E.g. s.v. 1.39.3. This kind of evidence was especially dear to Bloomfield, who adduces it passim.)

[5] One might expect that in a dictionary, both roots and inflections would be preserved with some care; but in Suidas, Hesychius, the *Etym. mag.* etc. often even the lemmata are corrupt; and in most cases, such vital facts as authors' names and passage numbers have been omitted.

[6] Cf. e.g. the scholia at 1.39.1, 3.82.8, 8.68.4 (qq.v.); or 1.69.5 (G recte ὅπερ καὶ

dered and epitomized, were transferred to the crowded margins of our texts, where they were then subjected to further indignity (conflation, truncation, etc.).[7] In consequence, when studying what remains of these texts, it is most hazardous to lean hard on single words, unless these are supported by strong other evidence. A single cautionary specimen (taken from Tosi *Studi* 85) will suffice: (Scholium to 1.113.3) ἐφ' ᾧ· ἐφῶ ἀντὶ τοῦ δίοτι ἐν παροχειμένῳ (sic) ὥσπερ τὸ ἐφῶ γενάδιον (sic) ἔγραψε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὡς ἐνταῦθα. Compare Thom. Mag. 129. 3–6 R: ἐφῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ διότι εἰς παρῳχημένον Συνέσιος ἐν ἐπιστολῇ· "ἐφῷ Γένναδιον ἔγραψεν" (Ep. 73.221), καὶ ἐφῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἵνα εἰς μέλλοντα. If we had not the purer text of Thomas Magister (which Tosi thinks the actual source), what on earth would we make of this?[8]

(B) *Ambiguity*, resulting either from conflation of different notes, or from the increasing abstractness of paraphrased language, or simply from an entire loss of context. Loss of context occurs because the original, Hellenistic reference works were extremely heterogeneous. As a result the original context of this or that extant note is often unknown to us, and its meaning radically uncertain. In the case of scholia, in particular, often the lemmata have been lost and reinvented; so that either (a) the present lemma is simply wrong or (b) the "scholium" which it heads is in fact some smooth, deceptive conflation of different notes, of varying date, purpose and worth, by quite different hands.

(C) *Doubtful authority*. The "authority" of any reading, as distinct from its appeal to one's intuition, depends on its having a clear (or

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ἐγένετο αἴτιον: cett. ὅστις καὶ ἐγένετο αἴτιος [Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 129]); or 3.82.8, where ἥτς γ″ (i.e. ἥτις γίγνεται) becomes ἥτις γὰρ in the F_2 scholium, ἢ τῆς γῆς in the M scholium and τῆς γῆς in the C_2 scholium (ibid. 119).

In early texts compendia, dropped endings, etc. tend to abound only in commentaries (see Turner, *Greek Papyri* 95–6); and they are, at all times, most abundant in the marginal scholia based on those commentaries. Endings, in particular, were often systematically dropped: there are striking examples in Barbour's *Greek Literary Hands*, e.g. item #6, (p. 2, transcribed p. 31); also #94, #98, etc.

[7] Conflation will be apparent in several examples below; but see also Appendix II. Truncation is plainly visible in Hude's app. crit. to the scholia, wherever it says "desinit M," etc. A copyist keeps only as much as he wishes, or has room for, and often a note breaks off in mid-phrase.

[8] The most basic thing to grasp is that, as Tosi puts it (*Studi* p. 66), the scholiastic tradition is "non-linear," i.e. fluid, pilfering, epitomizing. One must, as he says, try to see the point of a scholium's "uncorrupted nucleus."

For a different sort of warning see Powell p. 81 on 3.39.4: here *modern* editors crudely truncated a note, also mistook a quotation from Demosthenes for a scholiast's paraphrase of Thuc., also even invented a wrong and very misleading lemma!

at least probable) source and provenance. But the extant notes about Thuc., which tend to be quite impossible to date, have or imply readings that reach us from no one knows where. They are often based on a very late and corrupt text; often, on a text plainly worse than ours.

For example (to name only places discussed in this book) there are contradictory scholia at 1.134.4, 1.144.2, 2.102.4, 5.22.2, 8.64.5, 8.68.2; 8.89.2. At 5.16.2 (q.v.) the scholiast records one *v.l.* and three interpretations, and himself has the wrong reading; and there are two notes at 3.11.4, of which one seems rightly to read the *lectio difficilior* ἄκοντας, the other ἑκόντας.[9]

Paradigmatic in this is the cautious, rather bungling papyrus commentator of P.Oxy. 853, whose authorship his editors date 10 B.C.-A.D. 150. At 2.21.3 he cannot choose between two versions, both corrupt;[10] at 2.22.3 (q.v.) he obelizes a word which is still in our text; and at 2.4.2 (q.v.) . . . ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες . . . ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν, ὥστε διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί, he apparently had a mispunctuated text. Clearly he imagines that the sentence begins with ἄπειροι; for he thinks that either ὥστε is "redundant" (παρέλκεσθαι τὸ ὥστε: he seems to long for excision!) or that τοῦ is "pleonastic" (again, one feels that he longs for excision!) and should be in effect replaced with ὥστε.[11]

So much, then, as regards corruption and doubtful authority; I now turn to the certain, possible and putative kinds of evidence about interpolation that one finds amid this wreckage.

2. *Verbatim quotations that preserve true readings*

Of this I here quote eight examples that bear (sometimes very indirectly) on interpolation; four of them help to free putative glosses

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[9] Rutherford p. 68 shows that, with Aristophanes at least, "the framers [of some notes] actually contemplated a text in which a choice of readings was given."

[10] But like Slater, I suspect that such caution is typical of Hellenistic scholars. They seem much *more* respectful of the paradosis than do their modern counterparts. For more about the corruption that the scholiasts themselves had to deal with, and about their dates and their relation with papyrus commentaries, see the works cited below in Ch. XI.

[11] ἤτοι οὕτως ῥητέον, ἐμπείρους δ' ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί, ὥστε παρέλκεσθαι τὸ ὥστε· ἢ τὸ ἄρθρον πλεονάσει τὸ τοῦ, ἐμπείρους δ' ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας ὥστε μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί.

from suspicion, two (8.64.5, 4.43.3) help to expose interpolation, and two supposed examples that I put last (2.13.3, 1.6.3) tell us nothing because they could be corrupt.

I have already cited, in Ch. II, the Aldine scholium at 1.134.4 ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν· ἐμβαλεῖν δηλονότι: it not only supports the aorist of E but also (see Section [3] below) frees a whole clause from suspicion.

Also cited in Ch. II was 8.64.5 ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπούλου εὐνομίας οὐ προτιμήσαντες recte B (αὐτονομίας mg.), Schol., Dion. Hal.: . . . τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθ. ὕπουλον εὐνομίαν (κτλ.) C: . . . τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθ. ὕπουλον αὐτονομίαν (κτλ.) GMEFAB. Usener, the editor of Dionysius, thought that when Dionysius criticized the genitive τῆς εὐνομίας (*Ep. ad Amm.* II.11) he was "turpiter deceptus" by a corruption. He thought that the reading of B was τῆς . . . αὐτονομίαν, and "τῆς ex glossemate αὐτῆς, ut coniicias," etc. A year later W.R. Roberts (*CR* 14 [1900] 244 ff.) drew attention to B's original reading and to the scholium (all of which I quote, since its two parts, joined by ἄλλως, illustrate the conflation of scholia described above): σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις . . .· εὐβουλότεραι γὰρ γενόμεναι ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθ. ὑπούλου εὐνομίας οὐδὲν φροντίσαντες. ἄλλως· οὐ προτιμήσαντες· οὐ προτιμοτέραν σχόντες, οὐδὲν φροντίζοντες.

The next example too has contradictory scholia, one of which is right. At 2.102.4 the OCT has αἵ τε νῆσοι πυκναί, καὶ ἀλλήλαις τῆς προσχώσεως [τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι] ξύνδεσμοι γίγνονται: habent verba G F A B M: τὸ μὴ C E K Pi: τοῦ μὴ Badham. The phrase is rejected by Stahl, Herwerden ("puerile additamentum"), Steup, Marchant, Jones, Kleinlogel, Luschnat and even Alberti. Also Powell: "ut videtur, non legit schol." (compare p. 80 of his article); also Hude: "non legisse videtur schol."; also Stahl: "huc irrepsisse videtur ex schol.: τῆς προσχώσεως ἕνεκα, διὰ τῆς προσχώσεως, διὰ τὸ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι αὐτήν." But surely, even in itself this scholium proves nothing, since it could be merely explaining the grammar (see below on misinterpreted scholia); and as Steup admits, Hude had also printed another scholium: τὸ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι· τὴν πρόσχωσιν δηλονότι.

Whatever the date of that (it seems a *psi* scholium taken by Aldus from J or X), it points to the truth. Rusten, like Romilly, prints τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι and translates, "and they serve each other as frames for the silt because it doesn't scatter." This seems all right grammatically, despite the change of subject to which editors object; but it seems tautological. As Arnold saw, the true reading is τὸ μὴ etc.

(which he thought was only in K); ξύνδεσμοι is used actively (as at 2.75.5: see next note); and the accusative articular infinitive is exactly as in Smyth 2034 d, Goodwin *GMT* ¶ 795 (where almost all the examples are from Sophocles and Thucydides).[12] As Arnold translates, "the islands serve to connect the depositions made by the river with one another so that the soil should not be dispersed in the sea."

At 6.74.2, where all capital MSS read καὶ Θρᾶκας καὶ σταυρώματα περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενοι, Portus, Hermann and Jowett all thought that ΘΡΑΚΑΣ was a corruption of ΧΑΡΑΧΑΣ which itself was a gloss on σταυρώματα. Jowett knew of Pluygers' accurate conjecture, that it was in fact an uncial corruption of ὅρια καί, but rejected both the word (defined correctly by Hesychius) and the explanation as far-fetched. The truth is preserved in the *Phi* scholium which has ὅρια περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενοι, and by the Patmore scholium[13] which has ὅρα. *Pace* an early editor of this, ὅρα is unlikely to be the truth; but it may represent an intermediate stage of corruption, explaining why six of the seven capital MSS—curiously, after all—write Θρᾶκας without an iota.[14]

At 4.43.3 ἦν γὰρ τὸ χωρίον πρόσαντες πᾶν (sic CGFABM & Jones: ἐπάναντες E: ἐπάντες Schol. Patm.), Dover (*CQ* 4 [1954] 80) seems right to think that the very rare word ἐπάντες (which occurs also at 7.79.2) must be right; for not only is it the harder reading but it also explains that of E.

At 7.86.5, according to Arnold's apparatus, some *recentiores* read (re the death of Nicias, which Thuc. says was undeserved) διὰ τὴν

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[12] One might also term it an inf. with τό after verbs of hindering (for ξύνδεσμοι γίγνονται is equivalent to such): Goodwin ¶ 811, cf. Thuc. 3.1.1 εἶργον τὸ μὴ . . . κακουργεῖν.

In adducing 2.75.5 Arnold somewhat misses the point, and he ought to have quoted a little more of it: ξύνδεσμος ἦν τὰ ξύλα τοῦ μὴ ὑψηλὸν γιγνόμενον ἀσθενὲς εἶναι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα κ.τ.λ. Note that in both places the infinitive—which in each place could well have been preceded not by the article but by ὥστε—stands logically in the same relation to ξύνδεσμος. Hence, perhaps, Badham's conjecture at 2.102.4, τοῦ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι. But there is a difference: in 2.75.5 ξύνδεσμος, having apparently the force of a transitive verb, already has an "object" in τὰ ξύλα, whereas at 2.102 the inf. seems itself the object.

[13] The Patmore scholia: a three-part 10th-century collection, λέξεις μεθ' ἱστοριῶν ἐκ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων, λέξεις μεθ' ἱστοριῶν ἐκ τοῦ Θουκιδίδου, Αἰσχίνου (sc. λέξεις) (see Dover 134 ff.)

[14] The early editor is Tournier (*Rev. Phil.* I [1877] 182). For stemmatists this corruption has special interest in that, being evidently the result of misread uncials, it suggests a vague yet real *terminus ante quem* for the divergence between *Phi* and *Theta*.

νεμομισμένην ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐπιτήδευσιν. The phrase underlined is plainly a gloss that arose after the omission (perhaps due to the *homoiotes* -την) of the true reading πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετήν which among capital MSS was preserved only in B and by the scholium in the margin of M: διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νεμομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν· διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν νομίμως ἐπιτετηδευκέναι.

What the six preceding examples all have in common is that, in each place, *the scholium is supported by other MS evidence.* This corroboration is usually indispensable, on account of the corruption described at the beginning of this chapter; and we have none at 2.13.3, which Merritt and Wade-Gery have sought to emend according to an Aristophanes scholium.[15] For other aspects of this scholium, see Appendix II on conflated scholia; I here print only what is relevant to the passage from Thuc. (but I underline *all* divergence, because it illustrates the corruption of which I have spoken):

> 2.13.3 θαρσεῖν τε ἐκέλευε προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων (τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδεόντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἔς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τἆλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτείδαιαν ἀπανηλώθη).
>
> Aristophanes *Plutus* 1193: Ravenna Scholium (10th century):
> <τῆς θεοῦ·> τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς· είς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφερον τὰ χρήματα κἀνταῦθα ἐφυλάττοντο καθὰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης φησὶ ἐν τῆι β οὕτως· ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἀεί ποτε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα περιεγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν εἴς ⟨τε⟩ τὰ προπύλαια . . . [κτλ.] . . . ἐπανηλώθη.
>
> Venetus Scholium (11th century) . . . καθὰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης φησὶ ἐν τῆι β οὕτως· ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἀεί ποτε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα ⟨τριακοσίων⟩ [τὰ] ἀποδέοντα περιεγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν εἴς ⟨τε⟩ τὰ προπύλαια . . . [κτλ.] . . . ἐπανηλώθη.

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[15] See B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 185–231, answered by Gomme *Historia* 3 (1955) 333–8, then H.T. Wade-Gery and B.D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 163–97, then Gomme's Commentary ad loc.; also the commentary of Hornblower (who would not emend) on 2.13.3. I here ignore the further emendations of P.J. Rhodes (quoted in Hornblower) as seeming, from the viewpoint of textual criticism, still more improbable. Whenever, by MS disagreement, historians are given the slightest crack into which to insert the wedge of speculation, the paradosis is soon split wide open!

In his 1953 Princeton diss. (*Towards A Historian's Text of Thuc.*) D.M. Lewis had already decided—apparently independently—to use this scholium as a weapon against the text; but Lewis was at least "fully aware of the hypothetical nature" of such "tempting but hazardous" suggestions (p. 162, 163).

As Merritt says, the meaning would differ greatly: according to Thuc. MSS, Pericles says that at the present time there are 6,000 talents on the Acropolis, and Thuc. adds a "footnote" explaining (apparently) that at its greatest (τὰ πλεῖστα taken adverbially), this treasure had been 9,700 talents; while according to the scholium, Pericles says that that there had always been 6,000 talents; the "footnote," that most of this—τὰ πλεῖστα, viz. 5,700 talents of it—are still on hand. According to Merritt and Wade-Gery, the latter both coheres better with the other historical evidence, and is better Thucydidean idiom.

The historical arguments are so complex that for them I can but refer to Gomme ad loc., and to James Oliver.[16] I here but summarize the linguistic problem.

In quoting every Thucydidean instance of the superlative of πολύς, both with and without the article, Meritt and Wade-Gery do expose the fact that when used adverbially, τὰ πλεῖστα, in *Thucydidean* idiom at least, is not likely to mean "at its greatest extent," but rather "for the most part," "more or less," etc. This the interpolator (i.e. the imaginary person who doctored our text to bring it in line with the figures of Ephorus) was not likely to know. But this objection was met by Oliver: probably we have no adverbial expression; πλεῖστα is predicate adjective and τά, the subject, seems "a survival of the old substantive use of the article as in *Iliad* I, 12 ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε, or Herodotus, V, 92 δ, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, or Thucydides, III, 17, ἐν τοῖς πρώτη ἐγένετο" etc.[17] Hence, "the talents had been most when they were 9,700."

Somewhat oddly, in their two articles, Merritt and Wade-Gery use this putative interpolation as a base from which to attack the "medieval" paradosis of Thuc. Like D.M. Lewis, E.G. Turner and Hemmerdinger whom they cite (*Hesperia* 1957 pp. 194–6), they imagine competing ancient "editions" of Thuc. and think that a bad one produced our unhappy, interpolated "book-text." The theory itself

[16] James Oliver, "Thucydides, II, 13, 3," *AJP* 79 (1958) 188–190. His main point is that, for the other ancient "authorities" to which Merritt and Wade-Gery point, one cannot discern any source other than this passage of Thuc. It is also from this article (which is cited by Alberti ad loc.) that I quote below in dicussing the grammar. On the unsoundness of their historical argument cf. also Hornblower ad loc.

[17] E.g. 1.37.2 τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ . . . ἐπετήδευσαν (where see especially Arnold). For a list of instances see Krüger's grammatical index to Thuc. (vol. 2 pp. 305 ff.) s.v. "Artikel." (Krüger's indices, by the way, of Greek words and of grammatical topics surpass all others including Poppo's—they are both larger and more finely differentiated—and I find it strange that no one seems ever to use them now.)

will be discussed in Chapter XI; here it is enough to have shown that evidence such as this, based on probably mechanical change, is not adequate.[18]

Hardly more impressive are quotations that omit some of our text, and for that reason seem to expose an "intrusive gloss." Such evidence may have some slight weight, but only in conjunction with other, better grounds of suspicion (as e.g. at 2.10.3 ἔλεξεν, 6.2.1 οὖσα: see index). This is not, I think, the case at 1.6.3, which is cited in Lewis's *Towards A Historian's Text* etc. 74–5. The phrase which I underline is absent from the scholium to Aristophanes *Nub.* 984 (cf. *Eq.* 1331) which quotes the rest verbatim: (Thuc.) 1.6.3 ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τόν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένῃ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων <u>διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον</u> οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λίνους ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες . . . This was suspected to be a gloss by Herwerden,[19] who observes that it must be taken with φοροῦντες (cf. Arnold, "these words explain why they wore the linen dress, not why they left it off" and with the confusion cp. 1.32.5 fin.: see next note). Lewis remarks (loc. cit.), "I do not find this too distorted a construction, but Schroeder argues vigorously for the deletion, pointing out in addition that Johannes Siceliotes and Maximus Planudes have the same omission, which is particularly striking, since they are citing the passage to prove Ionian ἁβροσύνη. The sentence is certainly easier with the omission." But (a) it would not be strange if the scholiast, Joh. Siceliotes and Planudes (along with Syrianus and Doxop. cited in Alberti's apparatus) all had the same corrupt text; for the latter scholars, when citing this, need not have had a proper text of Thuc. at all, but some entry in a reference work, or another author. Then

[18] It is precisely prefixes and numbers that are most subject to corruption, for it is those that were most often abbreviated.

Notice too the increased corruption in the Venetus scholium: such changes are *normal* in scholia. It is this, not prejudice, that caused Croiset to say, "Si ce texte était appuyé par un papyrus, ce serait autre chose" (Croiset as reported, with real or feigned astonishment, by Meritt in *Hesperia* 23 [1954] 190); nor is there any need to stigmatize Rutherford's remark that "the variations from the textus receptus are interesting" as "quite superficial" (ibid. 189 n. 12: simply, Rutherford was a connoisseur of corruptions!), nor to mock the attempts of Accame and Adcock to explain the corruption mechanically (ibid. 189). These attacks *ad hominem* seem gratuitous.

[19] According at least to Lewis (p. 74); but he gives no reference, and Herwerden does not question the phrase either in his edition of Thuc. or in *St. Thuc.* or in *Mnemos.* 1873 73 ff.

(b) why should any helpful annotator have used, rather than ἁβροσύνη, this rare adjective, which, moreover, the neuter article seems to make doubly Thucydidean? Then (c) I cannot see any *raison d'être* behind this "gloss," unless it be to explain φοροῦντες, i.e. the fact of their wearing effeminate clothing. But this change to a softer way of life is just what Thuc.—not an annotator—is laboring to demonstrate throughout this passage. As the wider context shows, the logical—as distinct from the grammatical—stress is not on ἐπαύσαντο, but precisely on διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον φοροῦντες. This—not the bungling of a scholiast plus that of a copyist—explains the word order. And (d) that without the phrase "the sentence is certainly easier" is just what makes it probably Thucydidean. For the conflict between that which is logically and that which is grammatically important is characteristic of him.[20]

3. *"Scholiastes non legit"*

At times, a scholiast appears to gloss or paraphrase text other than ours, usually because he repeats it verbatim. As a criterion by which to make excisions this is usually based (as Dover said) "on the reasonable belief that to explain an author by his own words is no explanation"; and also on the somewhat less reasonable belief, already exploded above, that since scholia do have origins outside the medieval tradition, they are likely to refer to a text better than ours.

In fact, the criterion "Schol. non legit" is a minefield, fatal to one clever critic after another; I find but one probably successful appeal to it;[21] and after quoting that, I shall organize my examples according to the kinds of oversight made by those who write "non legit Schol."

The probable exception occurs at 3.53.1 καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν, γενέσθαι ἢ ὑμῖν (del. Hude, Jones, quod "non legisse videtur Schol.") The scholium has: οὐχ ἐν (sic)

[20] I am not *sure* that we have not a transposition here (see on this sentence in Ch. X, 4). But Arnold's comparison with 1.32.5 is certainly apt enough. There "the words μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτίᾳ refer not to τολμῶμεν but to τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ. For it was their former keeping out of all alliances which their enemies charged upon them as having been done with bad intentions, and which they themselves wished to represent as an honest error." (Most translations, e.g. C.F. Smith's, get this wrong.)

[21] I.e. excluding places where a scholium supports a *difficilior lectio* given by some MS, as e.g. at 6.83.3 (q.v. in II, 5 fin).

ἄλλοις· ἢ ὑμῖν. τὸ δὲ ἑξῆς, καὶ ἐν δικασταῖς οὐκ ἐν (sic) ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι γενέσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμὲν ἄρτι κρινόμενοι ὑφ' ὑμῶν.

The "scholium" was not originally written as one. As was said above, the scholia are not only many-layered but also heterogeneous. That is, different notes were written for quite different purposes, which now are often hard to discern. Thus some, notably the Patmore scholia, were taken from reference works whose authors *extracted* information from Thuc., and in such cases, where there is no reason not to repeat him verbatim, the "reasonable belief" about repetition is not to the point. With this argument Dover defends 6.27.1 ἡ τετράγωνος ἐργασία from "the slight stigma 'non legit Schol. Patm.' in the app. crit. of Thucydides or the more serious stigma 'non legit schol.' in LSJ" (Dover 137; cf. here in Chapter IV "Linguistic evidence").

At 1.134.4, as it happens, the phenomenon is even clearer. I print the text of Jones (underlining what is suspect): καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν, οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθεσαν, ἐσβάλλειν. As was shown in Chapter II, εἰώθεσαν is spurious: it results from someone's difficulty with the brachylogy (sc. ἐσβάλλουσι) and was written in *Theta* between lines (in some MSS as εἰώθασιν, and with different word order). But this does not authorize editors to excise the whole clause. Those like Jones who excise have mainly in mind the scholium: τόπος ὁ Κεάδας ὀρωρυγμένος ἐν Λακωνικῇ ὅπου τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθασι ῥίπτειν, and the Patmore scholium: Κεάδας· τόπος τις παρὰ Λακεδαμονίοις, εἰς ὃ ἐνέβαλλον τοὺς κακούργους, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς τὸ βάραθρον. But these very glosses were used by Schwabe (57, followed by Luschnat 137–8) to show that many of our "scholia" come from Alexandrian reference works. Note the kinship:

> Ammonius p. 9 ed. Valcken. (Cf. Thom. Magister p. 60 ed. Ritschl). βάραθρος καὶ βάραθρον διαφέρει. Βάραθρος μὲν γὰρ ὁ βαράθρου ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος, βάραθρον δὲ ὄρυγμά τι Ἀθήνησιν, εἰς ὃ τοὺς κακούργους ἐνέβαλλον, ὥσπερ οἱ Λακ. τοὺς καταδικαζομένους ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὸν Κεάδα.
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> Bekkeri Anecd. p. 219 (cp. Suda gl. 2): Βάραθρον· πάγη τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἴσχουσα ἰσχυρά πως, τὰ δὲ κάτω ὑπόχαυνα, ὥστε τὸν ἐπιβάντα καταδῦναι. Ἀθήνησι δ' ἦν ὄρυγμά τι ἐν Κειριαδῶν δήμῳ τῆς Οἰνηίδος φυλῆς, εἰς ὃ τοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατέβαλον, ὥσπερ οἱ Λακ. εἰς τὸν Κεάδαν ἐνέβαλλον.

The authenticity of the clause itself in Thuc. is supported in two ways by an Aldine (i.e. probably a *psi*) scholium: ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν· ἐμβαλεῖν δηλονότι. As Luschnat noticed, this confirms the aorist of E (which is probably a *psi* reading). It seems to imply the text—and

the misconstruing—καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν [sc. ἐμβαλεῖν], οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθεσαν ἐμβαλεῖν. Thus it represents an intermediate stage of corruption: after the intrusion of εἰώθεσαν, but before the change, which that necessitated, to present infinitive.

2.96.1 ὅσων ἦρχε μέχρι θαλάσσης [ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινόν τε πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον]. Krüger, Herwerden, Stahl, Marchant and Jones rejected this because of the Aldine "scholium" μέχρι θαλάσσης, ἕως τοῦ Εὐξείνου καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. To his credit Steup, following Classen, was unconvinced; he thought that the scholium if anything proves the opposite; i.e., it seems simply to use ἕως + gen. to explain ἐς + acc. How right he was!—in a way; for as was later shown by Powell (*CQ* 30 [1936] 148) the "scholium" is not one; it is one of the variant readings which Aldus found in one of his three MSS (viz. Pl^4), and which Hude mistook for a scholium. Romilly also printed the clause; but Alberti seems the first editor to reject this evidence for the right reason.

Wrong Lemmata and other problems. Most of the following specimens are taken from Luschnat, who thought that for critics trying to use the Thuc. scholia, the greatest obstacle is wrong lemmata.[22] At 1.107.3 the OCT has (my emphasis): καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μὲν αὐτούς (τοὺς Λακ.), διὰ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου εἰ βούλοιντο περαιοῦσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες ἔμελλον κωλύσειν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Γερανείας οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγὰς <u>πορεύεσθαι.</u> Hude excises πορεύεσθαι because of the *Phi* scholium which reads according to him: αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο· ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τὸ περαιοῦσθαι. Poppo, seeing that this could be used as a weapon against πορεύεσθαι, suspected a wrong lemma and suggested κωλύσειν. Luschnat found the scholium in M under what must be its true heading, περαιοῦσθαι; and the point of it is simply that this infinitive completes both βούλοιντο and κωλύσειν.

1.90.3 τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, <u>καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας</u>, φειδομένους (κτλ.): most editors found this both tautological and historically improbable, and supposed the matter clinched by the Pl scholium: πάντας πανδημεί· τὸ πάντας, αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας. Gomme ad loc. defends it historically. In his 1954 edition of Books 1–2, Luschnat like other editors secluded it ("non legit schol."); later (in *Philol.* 98 [1954] 56), siding with Gomme, he decided that the scholiast repeats the text simply because he

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[22] Luschnat 54–7, where, on similar grounds, he also defends 1.93.5 ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, 2.29.3 ὁ Τερεύς.

cannot see a way in which to paraphrase it; later still (in his 1960 edition, *Addenda* p. 209) he points out that the scholium has in fact another clause; it reads in full: πάντας πανδημεί· τὸ πάντας, αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, μηδενὸς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ὑπολειπομένου. Apparently the scholiast had our text, and like some of us was surprised by it: so his first phrase is meant to explain πάντας, the other, πανδημεί.

1.98.4 πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμμαχὶς . . . ἐδουλώθη, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστη ὡς ἑκάστῃ (sic A, J: ἑκάστη cett.) ξυνέβη (secl. Krüger, Maddalena, alii). The *Theta* scholium reads, ἑκάστη· ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἐδουλώθη. Luschnat (op. cit. 55) noticed that in M there is no lemma, and that in any case the point of the note must be: ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστη <sc. ἐδουλώθη> ὡς ἑκάστῃ ξυνέβη.

4. *Apparent citations in lexica, etc.*

A curious kind of evidence is given by quotations in Byzantine reference works which (like some of our scholia) derive from Hellenistic studies of "Attic" usage. Now and then, a quotation will seem to expose an intrusive *lectio facilior*;[23] but as is shown by fierce disputes among scholars who try to apply it to the very corrupt text of Aeschylus, this too has its problems.[24] We have already noticed a rather striking, cautionary instance at 1.39.1 (q.v. Ch. II, 9) where Serruys tried to emend on such grounds.

We do seem to get real information concerning Thuc. 1.132.5 καὶ παραποιησάμενος σφραγῖδα, ἵνα . . . μὴ ἐπιγνῷ, λύει τὰς ἐπιστολὰς (κτλ.), where editors rightly emend the participle, on the basis of Pollux 8.27, which has (in Tosi's text but with my quotation marks) Καὶ

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[23] Note that such exposure is extremely rare. Tosi has made fairly exhaustive, closely attentive studies of quotations, paraphrases, citations etc. both in the Thuc. scholia and elsewhere (e.g. in *Scoli-Fantasma Tucididei* which covers all Book 1. The title merely refers to the fact that our "scholia" were written for other purposes). One opens these monographs with a slight thrill, expecting to find something that sheds new light on the text: so far as interpolation goes, there is almost nothing. Now and then other slight corruption is exposed; e.g. the supplement <ἁγνὰ> θύματα at 1.126.6: but even that is unusual.

[24] See G.T. Thomson, "The Intrusive Gloss," *CQ* 17 (1967) 232–43; Thomson and Headlam (ed.), *The Oresteia* etc., vol. 1.73–8, 2.239–40; E. Fraenkel (ed.), *Agamemnon* vol. 1, 10 ff. In this or that particular place, Fraenkel's caution seems excessive; but it must be conceded that he is right in principle. Those who emend rely on arguments from silence; for in the late Byzantine lexica (etc.) to which they appeal, most often not even Aeschylus, let alone the *Agammemnon*, is actually named.

σημήνασθαι κατασημήνασθαι, σημηνάμενος, ἐπισημηνάμενος δὲ Ἰσαῖος (7.1.27?) εἶπεν· τὸ γὰρ "παρασημηνάμενος" ὁ Θουκ. ἐπὶ τοῦ "παρατυπώσασθαι" τὴν σφραγῖδα λέγει. Whether one can go farther is not clear. Hude, Classen-Steup, Luschnat, Maddalena and even Alberti also erase τὴν σφραγῖδα; Jones was more cautious. Tosi (*Scoli-Fantasma* p. 111) thinks that deletion "è senza dubbio più coerente con lo scolio-fantasma." But (as my quotation marks indicate) I do not what compels us to read it thus; and as Tosi points out, παρασημαίνομαι does elsewhere have a similar construction (see LSJ s.v., first two examples).

Not quite self-evident either is Thuc. 1.77.1 καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις. Jones keeps this; but we find in Hesych. ξ 110 ξυμβολιμαίας δίκας· Ἀττικοὶ τὰς κατὰ συμβόλαια, σ 2297 συμβολαίας δίκας· τὰς κατὰ σύμβολα[ιον del. Schmidt] (κτλ.). As Gomme says ad loc. this unattested form is probably not the fruit of mechanical error, and Thuc. has been banalized: thus also Cobet (*Nov. Lect.* [1858] 167 f.), Tosi (145–6) and Alberti. But Jones' skepticism is not mere stubbornness: what makes the evidence very slight is that, after all, Hesychius does not name Thuc. Fraenkel, with regard to Aeschylus, refused to "search for a home for every headless gloss in Hesychius." In the present place, I would myself emend, but without perfect confidence.

5. *Exact information given in commentary*

The following six scraps of commentary, which I arrange crudely according to the type of source from which they apparently come, seem all to give exact information about the text; this is (A) Grammatical, (B) Geographical, (C) Miscellaneous. (As will be seen, the three examples in [C] are hard to classify; also of very varying worth.)

(A) *Grammatical Commentary.* I quote Hude's good analysis of 3.52.2 εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ tc., where former editors excised too much and Jones, probably, too little:

> adnotat scholiastes: ἀντίπτωσις [i.e. interchange of cases], ἤτοι αἰτιατικὴ ἀντὶ γενικῆς. ἀντὶ τοῦ "εἰρημένου γὰρ αὐτῷ" εἶπεν, qua adnotatione perductus Cobetus (ad Hyper. or. fun. p. 68), quem secutus est Herw., verba γὰρ ἦν delevit. Sed cum scholiastes ipse γὰρ in exemplari suo invenisse videatur, hoc spurium vix est; potius verbum ἦν, quod ille omisit, in suspicionem vocare licet, et fieri potest ut hoc in codd. nostr.

> inculcatum sit; de verbo εἶναι omisso cf. Krueg. gramm. #62.1 adn. 6 et VII, 77, 6, ubi εἰρημένον pro accusativo absoluto positum esse vix crediderim, cum sic potius ἀπαντᾶν τε κτλ. Thuc. positurus fuerit.[25]

The scholia to 8.89.1 so exactly illustrate several points made in section (1) above that they seem worth quoting, even though this has nothing to do with "interpolation" in the strict sense. (I indicate by letters in parenthesis what I take to be different notes:)

> (A) (e_{10} schol.) <ἐπέρρωσαν·> οἱ πεμφθέντες πρέσβεις τῶν τετρακοσίων. ἀδεῶς (δέ, ὡς)· ἀφόβως (B) (Mvc_2) ἀλλὰ τοὺς πεντασχιλίους . . .· οὐκ **ἀντίκειταί τινι τὸ ἀλλά, ὡς λέγομεν, οὐ τόδε, ἀλλὰ τόδε· ἔστι δὲ παρακελευστικόν**, ὡς καὶ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ (N 292)· ἀλλ' ἄγε, μήκετι ταῦτα λεγώμεθα. (C) ἡ δὲ διάνοια· οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην ἄρχοντες τότε τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ μετασχόντες αὐτῆς ἐν πρώτοις, ὀρεγόμενοι δὲ δημοκρατίας, ἔλεγον, οὐκ ὅτι ἀπαλλακτικῶς ἔχουσι [LSJ s.v. II.2] (ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές), ἀλλ' ὅτι φοβοῦνται τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην **καὶ τοὺς ἀπιόντας εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις**, μή τι οὗτοι κακὸν ἐργάσωνται τὴν πόλιν ὀλιγαρχίας γενομένης. ἤδη οὖν ἠξίουν τοὺς πεντασχιλίους καθιστάναι.

This seems to reflect our text in three stages of corruption. The autoschediastic author of (A) absurdly glosses a mechanical error now confined to *beta* MSS. (Of course—if Hude has got the lemma right—[A]'s other contribution is equally absurd.) Scholiast (C) apparently had something slightly better than our present paradosis (for he seems to read Abresch's ἀπαλλαξείειν), and with the essence of his interpretation most scholars now agree. What of (B)? So far as I know, no one except Andrewes (*HCT* ad loc.) pays any attention to it; but its author surely did not read οὐ τὸ (C E F A M) or οὐ τῷ (cod. B), οὔτοι (Poppo), οὔπω (Madvig), etc., but perhaps οὕτω (so Herwerden, the recc. and Valla [*ita enim*]; Pi has οὔτω).[26] Whether or not this is actually right it is hard to say. But as was demonstrated in Ch. II,

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[25] The interpolation of course is not certain. But in general, almost certainly some rare idioms have disappeared from our text: this at least is the strong impression one gets from Hude's list of "Testimonia pseudothucydidea," *Edit. max.* II, Appendix iii. Cf. on 4.63.1

[26] For some reason Andrewes, normally very attentive to the MSS, overlooks these *xi* variants even though he wants to delete the negative adverb.

Homer is very commonly cited in the scholia; cf. also P.Oxy. 853 on 2.22.3, 2.45.2. In part, presumably, this is because the first Alexandrian commentaries were those on Homer (see Pfeiffer, as cited below on 3.84). A note such as this need not have been written for Thuc., but may have come from a Homeric commentary (where Thuc. is often cited: see Tosi *Scoli-fantasma* passim) or from a work on "Attic" idiom.

this sentence is otherwise extremely corrupt, so that we can hardly disdain the *xi* recc. Thus perhaps: "but fearing, as they alleged, the army at Samos, and fearing, in real earnest, Alcibiades and the ambassadors to Sparta, lest they harm the city (etc.), for these reasons (οὕτω), (?as they said), they wished to be free of the too narrow oligarchy; instead (ἀλλὰ) the 5,000 should be established not in name but in fact."[27]

(B) *Ancient geographical commentary.* At 2.22.3 Jones' OCT prints as follows the list of Thessalian cities allied to Athens: Λαρισαῖοι, Φαρσάλιοι, [Παράσιοι], Κραννώνιοι, Πυράσιοι, Γυρτώνιοι, Φεραῖοι. We are told in Powell's note ad loc.: "Παράσιοι om. recc.: non legit Π^8, sed habet Π^9 Πυράσιοι recc.: Πειράσιοι codd. Π^8 [Π^9]." Since no extant text made any mention of the Παράσιοι, 19th-century scholars (Poppo, Heringa, Göller, Arnold, Herwerden, Dobree) had long suspected the word to be a mechanically interpolated *v.l.* for Πυράσιοι later in the list; and their suspicion seemed confirmed by the Π^8 commentator. I quote first the papyrus entry (P.Oxy. 853, col. 13. 2. 20) then the remark ad loc. (p. 145) by Grenfell and Hunt:

> Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι· ἀπ[ὸ] Πηρείας, τὰ[ς
> ἐν Πηρείῃ θρέψ' ἀργ[υρότοξος· ἁμαρ-
> τάνουσι δὲ οἱ γρά[φοντες Παράσι-
> ο[ι,] ἔστιν γὰρ τῆς Ἀρκ[αδίας.

The reading of the lemma proves that Παράσιοι did not stand after Φαρσάλιοι in our author's text of Thucydides, while his note shows that he knew of Παράσιοι . . . as a variant on Πειράσιοι, but rightly rejected it. That Παράσιοι was originally a marginal variant which found its way into the text, causing the transposition of Πειράσιοι, is now clear, and the hypothesis of an interpolation is confirmed.

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[27] This paraphrase assumes a slight hyperbaton with τε (Hammer 64 ff., cf. Oeltze 36 ff.) and that σπουδῇ πάνυ is not out of place (even though CM omit it: see in Ch. II); but the text is so corrupt that word order is suspect. Exactly what these men did really fear and want, as distinct from what they alleged (ἔφασαν) that they feared and wanted, seems uncertain. Herwerden (*Mnem.* 8 [1880] 177–8) thought that they did really, σπουδῇ πάνυ, fear the army and Alcibiades, and that ἔφασαν is out of place; and Stahl and Madvig, that towards the end "excidit ἔλεγον vel similis sententiae verbum. a Th. enim usu aliena est eorum explicatio, qui ἀπαλλαξείειν ab ὡς ἔφασαν pendere putant" (Stahl ad loc.).

Ostwald (*From Popular Sovereignty* etc. pp. 391–2 & n. 186) thinks the negative necessary, on account of the general cautiousness of Theramenes. But Thuc. is not thinking merely of Theramenes, but of many men (cf. 89.1); the other named person, Aristocrates, was, as Ostwald shows himself (loc. cit.), much less cautious.

Now, the first sentence of Grenfell-Hunt is correct (though perhaps phrased misleadingly); but the second does not automatically follow. Note that, strictly, the commentator does *not* say that the word appears twice. We might suppose that his list contained both Πειράσιοι (which some misspelt Παράσιοι) and, later, Πυράσιοι, and that he accepted both, and that about the second he had nothing special to say. (I suppose that this is what Gomme ad loc. means by saying, "I doubt whether the critical note in Stuart Jones is correct in saying that Π^{8} did not have [the word] (Π^{9} has it).") Alternatively, we might suppose that he had the text printed by Alberti:

> Λαρισαῖοι, Φαρσάλιοι, Πειράσιοι, Κραννώνιοι, [Πειράσιοι], Γυρτώνιοι (κτλ.)
>
> Πειράσιοι Π^{8}: Περάσιοι B: Παράσιοι: ACEF<G>M, agnoscit Π^{8}: spat. aptum in Π^{9}: om Uc, alii recc. || alt. Πειράσιοι om. Vm, del. Alberti: Πυράσιοι S, edd. plur.; spat. aptum in Π^{9}

This coheres better with the MSS evidence (note the reading of B) and is far more economical: no emendation, "confirmed" only by some *recentior*, of either name, and no "marginal variant that found its way in," but mere dittography, perhaps showing a 19-letter line-length, such as is found in many papyri.

This is probably right, and should be a lesson in not leaping to conclusions. But at the risk of pedantry, let us allow for one other possibility. In a case such as this in which there is no grammar, no idiom and (almost) no sense to measure by, how should we know for sure whether that commentator's opinion, or indeed his scrap of text, is right? Proper names are notoriously liable to corruption. Stahl's comment here, "mihi potius emendandum videtur," was made before the discovery of the papyrus, but does not seem to me negated by it. He emends Παράσιοι to Παγασαῖοι and cites the same passage of Strabo to which others appeal for evidence of the spelling Πυράσιοι, viz. 9.5.15 (436) ἐπίνειον δὲ τῶν Φέρων Παγασαὶ διέχον ἐνενήκοντα σταδίους.[28]

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[28] Perhaps it is just worth mentioning that Thucydidean catalogues seem often, for some reason, to proceed geographically in a counterclockwise spiral, towards the west and the south, to east and north east, ending in the far north west. Thus e.g., very consistently, much of the great list of allies at Syracuse in 7.57. In the present case (skipping Cranon, of which the location seems to be unknown) one would expect Λαρισαῖοι, Φαρσάλιοι, Πυράσιοι, Παγασαῖοι, Φεραῖοι, Γυρτώνιοι. (Cranon should then be in the north, east of Gyrton, coming just before it in the list.) But of course, in this passage the text is too uncertain.

But in the next example, none of these scruples are possible: 4.45.2 . . . ἀφίκοντο ἐς Μέθανα (Μεθώνη codd.) τὴν μεταξὺ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ Τροιζῆνος, καὶ ἀπολαβόντες τὸν τῆς χερσονήσου ἰσθμόν, [ἐν ᾧ ἡ Μεθώνη ἐστί secl. Stahl], καὶ φρούριον καταστησάμενοι ἐλῄστευον (κτλ.) The trouble is that Strabo at 374 (8.6.15) writes of the stronghold (χώριον ἐρύμνον) and peninsula called Μέθανα between Troezen and Epidaurus: παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ δὲ ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις Μεθώνη φέρεται ὁμωνύμως τῇ Μακεδονικῇ κτλ. (cf. 6.7.3); and he goes on to say that according to Demetrius of Skepsis, this caused some people to confuse the two places. Since Strabo gives a strong impression of having got his facts right,[29] since all of our MSS are among those "certain copies", and since Demetrius was born c. 214 B.C., the passage is an alarming hint of very old corruption.[30]

The next example vindicates, perhaps, a putative gloss; at the same time, it illustrates the process of corruption, as well as epitomization, in the indirect tradition:

> 1.128.1 ἀντεκέλευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Λακ. τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναστήσαντές ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπὸ Ταινάρου τῶν Εἱλώτων ἱκέτας ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν. Del. Herwerden ("delevi verba male repetita"), Hude, Croiset, Jones
>
> Schol. (R. Ald.) Aristophanes *Ach.* 510 Ταίναρον γάρ ἐστι τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀκρωτήριον, ἐν ᾧ στόμιον ἦν κατάγον εἰς ᾅδου. ἔνθα δὲ ἦν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν Ἀσφαλείου. τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Εἵλωτας οἰκέτας καθεσθέντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος **τοῦ Ταιναρίου** οὐδὲν δείσαντες (-ας coni. Meiners) ἀνεῖλον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδόκουν ἐναγεῖς εἶναι.
>
> Suidas T 206 Ταίναρον· ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἐν ᾧ στόμιον ἦν κατάγον εἰς ᾅδου. ἔνθα καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν Ἀσφαλείου, **ἐκεῖσε** δὲ τοὺς Εἵλωτας **ἱκέτας** (AFVM: οἰκέτας G, Proem.) καθεσθέντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος οὐδὲν δείσαντες ἀνεῖλον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδόκουν ἐναγεῖς εἶναι.

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[29] Arnold notes that now (i.e. in 1832) the place is called Μέθανα just as it was by Pausanias and Strabo.

[30] This is an abnormally convincing example of the kind of thing that caused Lewis, in his Princeton diss., to be suspicious of many place-names in Thuc. MSS; for they seem often "corrected" (in the same way in which, today, a misspelling would be by an editor) to agree with Homeric scholarship.

I have not closely investigated this and plainly, in this already very miscellaneous book, analysis of it would carry us too far afield. Here, I would merely reiterate my opinion that we should be wary of attributing *any* kind of systematic interference in the MSS to Hellenistic "editors." At any rate, here at 4.45.2 the interpolation is *so* old that it seems to antedate the putative editions (on which cf. below on 3.84).

The decisive point is that of Steup ad loc. (cf. Luschnat *Add* p. 210): without the phrase we lack a clear indication that the aforementioned temple is that from which they were taken; and with the two prepositions he compares 1.129.3, 137.1, 138.5, etc.[31] Lewis supports him (*Towards A Historian's Text* etc. pp. 79–80) by drawing attention to the indirect tradition, which seems to recall Thuc. "We get a rare chance to see Byzantine corruption at work on the scholia [*not so rare!*] . . . When 'Suidas' took over the note he read ἱκέτας . . . It seems to me certain that he also read τοῦ Ταιναρίου after Ποσειδῶνος and adapted it into ἐκεῖσε . . ."

(C) *Miscellaneous Specimens of Byzantine and Hellenistic "Textual Criticism".*

> 1.144.2 νῦν δὲ τούτοις ἀποκρινόμενοι ἀποπέμψωμεν, Μεγαρέας μὲν ὅτι ἐάσομεν ἀγορᾷ καὶ λιμέσι χρῆσθαι, ἢν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξενηλασίας μὴ ποιῶσι . . . τὰς δὲ πόλεις ὅτι αὐτονόμους ἀφήσομεν, εἰ καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔχοντες ἐσπεισάμεθα, καὶ ὅταν κἀκεῖνοι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀποδῶσι πόλεσι μὴ σφίσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδείως αὐτονομεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἑκάστοις ὡς βούλονται.

> Bâle [i.e. J] Scholium: σφίσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις· οἶμαι τὸ 'τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις' ἁμάρτημα τοῦ γραφέως ἐνθέντος τῷ κειμένῳ ὅπερ ἦν ἑρμηνεία τοῦ 'σφίσι,' ἔξωθέν τινι πρότερον ἐπιτεθεῖσα (i.e. "I think the phrase τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις a mistake of the scribe who incorporated into his text what in fact was an explanation of σφίσι, which someone had already written beside the text").

Early editors accepted the phrase though Cobet, naturally, despised it: "Quam insulsum est τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις addere, ubi praecedit κἀκεῖνοι."[32] But after this "surprisingly modern note," as Powell calls it, was noticed amid the scholia, τοῖς Λακ. was promptly banished from almost every edition (e.g. those of Stahl, Croiset, Hude, Jones, Alberti) with the note "secl. Schol."[33]

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[31] Steup is right about the sense; but to me the prepositions here seem harsher than in any of his parallels: 1.129.3 οὕς μοι πέραν θαλάσσης ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἔσωσας, 137.1 πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν πεζῇ ἐς Πύδνα, 138.5 . . . ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. I cannot quite suppress a suspicion that either we have wrong word order (easier seems ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος) or (since the verbatim repetition seems ugly) that ἀπὸ Ταιν. should be (as in the scholium) τοῦ Ταιναρίου.

[32] Cobet, *Var. Lect.* 436. He also deletes [καὶ] ὅταν . . .: "Athenienses Spartanis non *duas* conditiones ferunt, sed εἰ καὶ—ἐσπεισάμεθα est προδιόρθωσις posita διὰ μέσου. Itaque KAI non stare potest."

[33] The scholium is cited by Powell in his study of the Bâle scholia (*CQ* 30 [1936] 81). He apparently thinks it very old; for he seems to compare it with the scholium on 4.83.3, which "suggests earlier rather than later Byzantine" since it compares

Thus, as at 2.22.3 (discussed above), editors take a childish delight in any Greek who seems to resemble them! Surely, this scholium does not count as "evidence" but is the note of a Byzantine Cobet who may or may not be right. Classen sensibly opposes him ("doch möchte ich sein Urtheil nicht über das unsrige setzen") and thinks that τοῖς Λακ. is there to prevent the possible reference of σφίσι to πόλεις." But Hobbes is more acute; for he translates: "also, that we will let the Grecian cities be free if they were so when the peace was made; and if the Lacedaemonians will also give leave unto their confederates not as shall serve the turn of the Lacedaemonians, but as they themselves shall every one think good." I.e., Pericles is emphatic and sarcastic here.[34]

The following two examples are more interesting in point of content. But the first, though it seems much older, is not one whit more impressive than that just cited:

> 3.84 F H schol. τὰ ὠβελισμένα οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἔδοξε Θουκιδίδου εἶναι· ἀσαφῆ γὰρ καὶ τῷ τύπῳ ἑρμηνείας καὶ τοῖς διανοήμασι πολὺν ἐμφαίνοντα τὸν νεωτερισμόν.

This is the one scrap of objective "evidence" against 3.84. I myself think the chapter authentic; but putting aside that larger question, I examine only the present note.[35] It puts one in mind of those in Homeric MSS that record athetesis by Zenodotus, Aristophanes and Aristarchus; and this resemblance seems to invite two remarks. First, the actual information itself is liable to be wrong, or misleading. Compare an example in Pfeiffer's *History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 175 and n. 6: the plain statement of Schol. ψ 296, Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος πέρας τῆς Ὀδυσσείας τοῦτο ποιοῦνται, becomes difficult in the light of such Schol. as ψ 310–43 ἠθέτησεν Ἀρίσταρχος τοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα, and Schol. MV ω 1–204 Ἀρίσταρχος ἀθετεῖ

Brasidas with, "in our times," Belisarion. But according to Kleinlogel, who scrutinized the hand and the ink more closely, our note is a late addition to the corpus: probably 15th-century. (*Geschichte* 56–7, n. 27; cf. Lewis, *Gnomon* 38 [1936] 136).

[34] There is similar emphasis at 1.19.1 κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς [del. Cobet, suo more!] μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσωσι.

[35] The linguistic arguments against 3.84 seem to me—all of them—well enough refuted by Matthew Christ (*TAPA* 119 [1989] 137–46). Apart from these, the arguments both for and against 3.84 seem necessarily so subjective that I simply refrain from adding to them. In addition to the works cited by Christ, see the pages which Arnold appends to his first volume, pp. 608–612: that is the best "subjective" defense known to me.

τὴν Νέκυιαν. Aristarchus, at least, did not obelize the passage as a whole (the scholiast has generalized).[36]

Secondly, even if the stated fact of athetesis were true, we could scarcely know its original basis. Notoriously, the basis stated by our scholium is feeble. Some Thucydidean scholars assume, just as some Homeric scholars do, that the ἐξηγηταί must have had much better evidence, such as lack of MS attestation. As it happens, by way of refuting this we can appeal to the same Homeric example just cited. I quote from Apthorp's *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (p. 62; he ignores the contradiction pointed out by Pfeiffer):

> There is, actually, no internal evidence against [*Od.* 23.] 297–343 of any great weight, though the passage *could* be spurious. Now [, as regards the larger passage,] the opinion of the two great Alexandrians that the genuine *Odyssey* ended at 296 is reported by nearly all the major collections of scholia . . . and also by Eustathius [on that see Pfeiffer, loc. cit. above]: again, if Aristarchus had known of any MS . . . which ended at this point he would have recorded the fact in his ὑπμνήματα, Didymus would surely have reported this remarkable large-scale divergence, and at least some of the collections of scholia which report the opinion of Aristophanes and Aristarchus would surely have included the information on the supporting diplomatic evidence from Didymus: in the circumstances the total silence of the scholia on this point suggests very strongly that the judgement of the two Alexandrians was based on the internal evidence alone.

Of course, extant Thuc. scholia are far too scanty for such arguments from silence. But his ἐξηγηταί will not have been more objective than these two, each of whom, indeed, has been suspected of having edited Thuc.[37] The fact that these best scholars did not actually excise words from their text[38] enabled them to be, without irresponsibility,

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[36] For other palpable examples of this (the opinions of older scholars misrepresented, often grossly) see Slater 55–7, especially 57 n. 1.

[37] On Aristophanes' "edition" see Hemmerdinger, *Essai* 19–20 (rejected by most other scholars). On Aristarchus and Thuc. see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* 225 (supporting Luschnat). Pfeiffer himself—though he is often cited as having done so—does not posit an "edition" by Aristarchus, only a commentary.

According to Pfeiffer p. 223 there is a difference between ἐξηγήσεις (disquisitions, monographs) and ὑπομνήματα (commentaries); on ἔκδοσις, διόρθωσις and other most vexing terms see Pfeiffer 216 ff. Exactly what our Thuc. scholium refers to, it seems impossible to say.

[38] On Aristophanes, who "knew much about actors and their interpolations, which he kept in his text none the less," see Page, *Actors' Interpolations* 5–6. Apthorp, refuting Van der Valk and others, proves the same for Aristarchus. From his recension (whatever that was) Aristarchus excluded lines that were poorly attested (with

very free in conjecture, and in athetesis; and though often they had good grounds for athetesis, they at times plainly did not.[39]

At 5.85.1 occurs a *Phi* (here f c) scholium that is more impressive. Like Luciano Canfora who called attention to it (in *Belfagor* 26 [1971] 411–14), I think its message sufficiently clear and probably true:

> ἐ π ε ι δ ή . . .· ἐν πᾶσι μὲν ὁ Θουκ. ἔφυγε τὴν συνήθειαν ⟨τοῦ λόγου⟩, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐνταῦθα· ἀντὶ γὰρ δημηγορίας διάλογόν τινα τῶν Μηλίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐτόλμησε συνθεῖναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐργάζεται τὴν ἀσάφειαν μάλιστα διὰ τὸ δύσκριτον τοῦ παρ᾽ ἑκατέρων λόγου, διαιρετέον κατὰ πρόσωπα τὴν ῥῆσιν.

The date and provenance of this scholium, which has a different ring from the normal gloss-like or paraphrasing notes, is unknowable. Plainly, whoever wrote it had a text that was not "divided by speakers," and he either recommends that this be done or, perhaps, that the reader pay close attention.[40] By itself, perhaps, this would not mean that our headings ΑΘ(ΗΝΑΙΟΙ) and ΜΗΛ(ΙΟΙ) are interpolated, since the scholiast's text was only one among many. But it is hard to see why such useful (not to say indispensable) headings could have been omitted; and it seems impressively confirmed by other evidence (all collected by Canfora, where see references): (1) It is indisputably clear at Dion. Hal. *de Thuc.* 388–90 (cc. 37–8) that Dionysius did not divide the speeches as we do, but attributed 5.86–87 all to the Athenians and 88–89 all to the Melians. This "proves" nothing, but is suggestive. (2) Canfora checked five of the capital MSS and found that in C E F A B the headings begin and end not (as one would expect) where the dramatic form begins and ends at 5.87 and 5.111, but at 5.85 and 5.113; besides, they are nearly missing in E, inconstant in A, and missing in some of the *recentiores*.[41] (3) A

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the result that his *numerus versuum* is demonstrably identical with that of the medieval MSS); at the same time, he *obelized* words or lines which he did include, since although he disliked them, they seemed well enough attested. These two facts should not be confused. In the former case, we have to trust Aristarchus, since he has behind him the solid evidence of MSS now lost; but in the latter, his opinion is only that of a good scholar. On all this see below Ch. XI passim.

[39] These facts have been disputed; but the evidence seems really too palpable. See e.g. Pfeiffer op. cit. 108–114 on Zenodotos (even though he does his scrupulous best to defend him), 222–32 on Aristarchus; on him see also the long discussion in Apthorp 47–101. The example I quoted is not anomalous.

[40] That is, I am not sure exactly what διαιρετέον κατὰ πρόσωπα τὴν ῥῆσιν implies. Canfora supposes that ancient markings had been lost (perhaps when the text was copied from uncials) and that the scholiast "preannunzia l'adozione di sigli nominali."

[41] Stemmatically, it seems, the three recc. which Canfora lists (413 n. 5) are all *deteriores*: S derives from F without contamination (Alberti, *Historiae* clix), as Va from

sixth-century imitation by Procopius is devoid of such signs of interlocutors. (4) N.G. Wilson (in *CQ* 64 [1970] 305) points out that in ancient books generally, in drama and prose dialogue, one never finds such headings, but only sparse inconstant punctuation marks. In confirmation of his strong suspicion that there were none, he quotes as follows from a fifth-century preface to a dialogue named *Eranistes* by the church father Theodoret, which he has found in Migne (*Patr.gr.* lxxxiii 29b):

> τὰ δέ γε τῶν ἐρωτώντων καὶ ἀποκρινομένων ὀνόματα οὐ τῷ σώματι τοῦ λόγου συντάξω, καθάπερ οἱ πάλαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφοί, ἀλλ' ἔξοθεν παραγράψω ταῖς τῶν στίχων ἀρχαῖς. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖς διὰ παντοδαπῆς ἠγμένοις παιδείας καὶ οἷς ὁ βίος ὁ λόγος προσέφερον τὰ συγγράμματα, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῖς λόγων ἀμυήτοις εὐσύνοπτον εἶναι βούλομαι τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τῆς ὠφελείας τὴν εὕρησιν (κ.τ.λ.)

Less cautious than usual, Wilson leaps to the conclusion that this bishop invented the present typographical convention. We need not assume this; but the passage, a witness impressive in itself, supports our scholium.[42]

It would be the length and complexity of the Melian dialogue that invited the interpolations. Originally, as Canfora says, it must have looked just like the dialogue in 3.113.4; and what confront us here are *aiuti scoliastici per la lettura.*[43]

6. *The scholium at 5.22.2*

The problem here does not differ in kind from some of those examined above; I have saved it for last because it is abnormally subtle, many-sided and hard. I present first the text (printing in boldface

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E (ibid. cxxxix) and Q from M and G (ibid. cxlvii, Powell *CQ* 32 [1938] 104.) This (except Va from E) perhaps weakens the point which I just made about the headings being the sort of thing that one would not omit!

[42] Wilson has no remarks about Theodoret's Greek, except that he thinks that οὐ τῷ σώματι τοῦ λόγου συντάξω refers to the fact that speakers in dialogues now and then address each other by name. He thinks that Theodoret "first and foremost will have had Plato in mind."

[43] None of this means that I endorse Canfora's main thesis about this dialogue—viz. that Thuc. never intended it for this place, but it was crudely inserted by the editor Xenophon—nor indeed am I able to see what bearing this has on that; but about the headings he seems brilliantly right.

About his main idea, which is at least very interesting, I am agnostic. I make only two remarks. Contrary to what he asserts p. 422, his "re-joining" of 5.84.3 and

the phrases most often thought false or out of place), then an apparatus describing conjectures; then two different attempts to defend the paradosis; then the scholium.

5.22.2 (Sparta's allies reject the peace): ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐσήκουον, ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπέπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, **νομίζοντες ἥκιστ' ἂν σφίσι** τούς τε Ἀργείους, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἤθελον Ἀμπελίδου καὶ Λίχου ἐλθόντων ἐπισπένδεσθαι, **νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐ** δεινοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοποννήσου μάλιστ' ἂν ἡσυχάζειν (**πρὸς γὰρ ἂν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἰ ἐξῆν, χωρεῖν**).

post σφίσι add. ἐπιτίθεσθαι Madvig, Hude: νομίσαντες et οὐ del. Badham, Herw.: νομίζοντες ἥκιστ' ἂν σφίσι del. Classen: ἥκιστ' ἂν σφίσι post νομίσαντες transponit Praechter, delens νομίζοντες et οὐ:[44] νομίσαντες . . . οὐ del. Stahl, qui πρὸς . . . χωρεῖν post εἶναι transponit:[45] eadem del. Steup (pro quibus proponit οὕτω λυπήρους εἶναι), qui del. etiam πρὸς . . . χωρεῖν || Ἀθηναίους alterum] Ἀργείους Böhme (fort. recte, cf. 5.14.4, 2.28.2)

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114 does not much, if at all, mitigate the pleonasm πρῶτον . . . πρὶν (5.84.3) to which he points at such length (p. 421). And besides, if an editor, who was also a writer as intelligent as Xenophon, had troubled to make such a major change, why would he not have put himself to the slight further trouble of eliminating slip-shod Greek? If the pleonasm is unbearable, it seems easier to suppose mechanical corruption.

As is well-known, the earlier part of book 5 is full of much harsher oddities. Those who, like Schwartz, infer interpolation from those inconsequences must therefore posit no "Xenophon" but an actual ignoramus. Yet (as Andrewes has remarked) this same person has enough sense to hide himself entirely behind language that is either palpably Thucydidean or that of authentic documents. Surely, it is easier to suppose an honest, self-effacing editor, who does not hide the contradictions in his unfinished materials.

[44] Praechter (*Hermes* 45 [1910] 155–6) is cited by Gomme ad loc., who does not quite get his point. First ἥκιστα ἂν σφίσιν was omitted mechanically; a corrector then wrote in the margin "νομίζοντες ἥκιστα ἂν σφίσιν," which was then inserted in the wrong place. Νομίζοντες—careless for νομίσαντες—was written just to show where ἥκιστα ἂν σφίσι must be inserted (cf. Brinkmann, *Rhein. Mus.* 57 [1902] 481–97: especially 486–7 for half a dozen examples closely akin to the present one). Well, things like this do happen (see Ch. X, 5), and I put this possibility in second place, after that which I present below. But the change of tense—the importance of which Praechter minimizes, but which is what here persuaded Madvig to keep both participles—seems against it.

[45] Stahl ad loc.: "Seclusa [viz. νομίσαντες . . . οὐ] ex interpretamento huc irrepsisse manifestum est itemque πρὸς γὰρ . . . χωρεῖν, quod in codd. post ἡσυχάζειν scriptum est, ad Argivos, non ad ceteram Peloponnesum pertinere. nam Lacedaemoniorum socios in societatem recipere Atheniensibus vel pace facta non licebit; quos enim licuerit dictum est 18.5. eodem quo ego verba rettulit schol."—from which he then quotes. But (1) as a rule, when a critic says that an interpolation "ex interpretamento huc irrepsisse," he is confessing that that he cannot explain where it came from; (2) the point about the allies is feeble; (3) αὐτοὺς ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων looks Thucydidean (cf. Gomme here); and (4) this uses only one clause of the scholium.

Herwerden and Badham suppose that a stop-gap was inserted by someone who

Grammatically, there are two ways of defending the paradosis. The simplest thing is to suppose epanalepsis, as Arnold did (following Poppo, *Proleg.* p. 199; and compare Jowett ad loc.): "Few sentences in Thuc. exhibit a more extraordinary specimen of anacolouthon than this. The clause νομίζοντες—'Αργείους is repeated after the parenthetical clause ἐπειδὴ—ἐπισπένδεσθαι, but in different words . . . and the parenthetical clause itself refers only to the name of the Argives"—i.e. it explains why Thuc. begins with them in particular, as if ἐπειδὴ were equivalent to οἵ γε. Arnold paraphrases: "*Thinking that the Argives, whose hostile intentions were manifested by their late refusal to renew the truce, would cease to be formidable, if deprived of the aid of the Ath.; and that the other states of Pelop. would, from the same cause, be most disposed to remain quiet; as the Athenian alliance would thus be closed against them, under which they would otherwise have ranged themselves.*"

This is surely unconvincing. Arnold's English glosses over what is "hard" in the Greek; which is not so much the anacolouthon—pointless and ugly though it is—as the crude, verbatim repetition, and the somewhat unmeaning change of tenses. In Thuc. MSS, this sort of thing nearly always means that we have a mechanical error by copyists: either dittography or omission.

More interesting, both in grammar and in sense, is the construing of Hobbes, Bloomfield and Göller. I describe it at length because there is a kernel of solid truth in it. They suppose a bold *apo koinou* construction in which (ἐπι)σπένδεσθαι is understood twice,[46] and take the Argives (not, as do most readers, the Spartans) as subject of νομίσαντες. This at least explains the aorist participle. Thus roughly: "*Since those cities would not agree to the peace terms, Sparta allied herself with Athens, thinking (a) that the Argives would very probably not renew their truce with her (for when Amp. and Lichas offered it they were unwilling, since they*

failed to see the construction behind the parenthesis. *Such* myopia, though not without parallel, seems improbable.

[46] "Bold" because the word order makes it seem as if the verb for the main const. (ἥκιστ' ἂν ἐπισπένδεσθαι) comes from a subordinate const. (ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ.). But typographically (so to speak) one could just end the "parenthesis" with ἐλθόντων. Cf. e.g. 3.68.1 where if the text is sound one must construe (as Jowett saw) ὅτε ὕστερον ἃ . . . (προείχοντο) προείχοντο; also 8.27.2 (q.v.). But Göller transposes: "deinde . . . ἐπισπένδεσθαι . . . ponendum est post 'Αργείους. Quod vulgo post ἐλθόντων legitur tam absurdum est ut cogitari nequeat Thuc. ita scribere potuisse" etc. He thinks that in the place where it could be omitted (and where Thuc. did omit it) the scholiasts supplied it: then it dropped out from its proper place. Of course, that is not impossible.

felt that **by herself, without Athens,** *she was not formidable), and (b) that the other cities were not likely to stir. (For if it were possible [i.e.* **if she did not ally with Athens***], they would go over to Athens.)*" Thus the two parentheses are roughly parallel. Sparta allies with Athens (a) because without this alliance she is not formidable enough to Argos; (b) with it she can overawe the other cities too.

Critics object both to the inconcinnity and to the logic. As regards the former, Poppo, pointing to the structure with τε . . . καὶ . . ., objects that just as μάλιστ' ἂν ἡσυχάζειν is plainly the apodosis to a condition, so must ἥκιστ' ἂν σφίσι (ἐπισπένδεσθαι) be; and "quid falsius est hac sententia, 'putantes, si ipsi societatem cum Athen. fecissent, Argivos minime foedus secum renovaturos esse'!" Yet we need not assume perfect formal symmetry. Ἥκιστα ἂν κ.τ.λ. might very well be a potential optative, so that the alliance's *raison d'être* vis-à-vis Argos is really given—somewhat obliquely—in the parenthesis.

To the sense there have been two main objections. Arnold writes: "But when had the Athenians ever taken part with Sparta against Argos, or when were they likely to do so? If the Spartans were not formidable to Argos, unless aided by the Ath., they never had been and never were likely to be formidable to it." Poppo approvingly translates this into Latin; but it overlooks the way in which Thuc. repeatedly stresses Sparta's weak position at this time. Compare e.g. (as Göller) 5.28.2: (οἱ Ἀργεῖοι) . . . ἐλπίσαντες τῆς Πελοπ. ἡγήσεσθαι. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἥ τε Λακεδαίμων μάλιστα δὴ κακῶς ἤκουσε καὶ ὑπερώφθη διὰ τὰς ξυμφοράς, οἵ τε Ἀργεῖοι ἄριστα ἔσχον τοῖς πᾶσιν, οὐ ξυναράμενοι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πολέμου, etc.; still better, 5.40.2–3 (πρότερον ἐλπίζοντες . . . ἡγήσεσθαι). Arnold also overlooks the real *fear*, general throughout the Peloponnese, of Sparta combining with Athens: cf. 5.29.3 τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ γράμμα μάλιστα τὴν Πελ. διεθορύβει καὶ ἐς ὑποψίαν καθίστη μὴ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων σφᾶς βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δουλώσεσθαι.

Steup and Gomme both object, independently, that the phrase "αὐτοὺς (τοὺς Λακ.) ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων" would imply that Sparta has already been allied with Athens; but "das Nichtbestehen eines Bündnisses zwischen Sparta und Athen war ja der gewöhliche Zustand." But since, as in the above translation, the phrase might point not to a fact in the near past but a vividly imagined possibility, based on facts in the far past, this objection has no force.

Still, it is not for nothing that most readers dislike this construing. As Göller himself admits by transposing, the brachylogy is somewhat

too vertiginous even for Thuc., the inconcinnity, too extreme; then, μάλιστ' ἂν ἡσυχάζειν does seem better to answer ἥκιστα ἂν . . . δεινοὺς εἶναι than it does ἥκιστα ἂν (ἐπισπένδεσθαι); finally, the verbatim repetition is still ugly.

Now, since no excision nor transposition really "works" and since all the MSS agree on this text, Jones admitted *aporia* and simply printed it.[47] But here for once we are given real help by a *Phi* scholium. I print the text as in Hude, except that I obelize a word which I think corrupt, and for ease of reference I mark different phrases with letters in parenthesis:

> ἐ π ε ι δ ὴ ο ὐ κ ἤ θ ε λ ο ν· οὐ βουλομένων, φησίν, τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων σπένδεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς 'Αθ., οἱ Λακ. καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐσπείσατο, (A) νομίζοντες ἥκιστ' ἂν οὕτω πρὸς 'Αθηναίους χωρήσειν τοὺς 'Αργείους †προσθησομένους† αὐτοῖς. (B) πεποιημένοι γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν πρὸς Λακ. σπονδάς, τότε τῶν 'Αθ. εὖ φερομένων οὐκ ἐβούλοντο πρὸς Λακ. ἐπισπένδεσθαι, ἐλθόντων 'Αμπελίδου καὶ Λίχου. (C) οὐκ ἐβούλοντο δὲ ἐπισπένδεσθαι οἱ 'Αργ. νομίζοντες χωρὶς 'Αθηναίων οὐ δεινοὺς εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους. (D) εἰ γὰρ μὴ [sc. αἱ σπονδαὶ] ἐγεγόνησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐξῆν προσχωρεῖν τοῖς 'Αθ., τούς τε 'Αργείους καὶ 'Αχαίους πρὸς 'Αθ. ἂν ἀποστῆναι.

So far as I know, all but four commentators wholly ignore this. Schwartz, who thinks the passage hopeless, and Poppo, who has an axe to grind, dismiss it as incoherent rubbish by someone puzzled by our text. Stahl, justifying his transposition (see apparatus), quotes only clause (A). Göller prints all of it as if it supported him; but if all of this scholium interprets our present text, it is a hodge-podge that unites different, contradictory scholia. For in that case—though (C) does plainly construe as he did—(A) can *only* be explaining—with a somewhat improbable freedom—νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἄνευ 'Αθηναίων οὐ δεινοὺς εἶναι . . . (πρὸς γὰρ ἂν τοὺς 'Αθηναίους, εἰ ἐξῆν, χωρεῖν), construing these words not as Göller and Hobbes but as Poppo did.

But this scholium, surely, supports Madvig who added ἐπιτίθεσθαι. There is no hint that its writer had trouble with the participles (no mention of brachylogy, anacolouthon, etc.[48]); and though wordy, it strikes me as coherent but for the one word I question. For to say, "since they thought that the Argives would thus be least likely to

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[47] Even Schwartz, who thinks the paradosis corrupt and who also tends to emend fearlessly, here abstains from suggesting anything (*Geschichte* 319–20). He thought the scholiast—to whom I shall now appeal—just as helpless as we.

[48] The other scholium in this place, νομίσαντες· ἐκ παραλλήλου (i.e. "pleonastic"), had plainly a different author.

join the Athenians *in order to join them*"—that is unhelpfully tautological even for a paraphrasing scholiast. Προσθησομένους seems corrupt for ἐπιθησομένους.[49] For thus, and thus alone, both the paradosis of Thuc. and this scholium become intelligible:

> ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐσήκουον, ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπέπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, νομίζοντες ἥκιστ' ἂν σφίσι <οὕτως ἐπιτίθεσθαι> τούς τε Ἀργείους (ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἤθελον Ἀμπελίδου καὶ Λίχου ἐλθόντων ἐπισπένδεσθαι, νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐ δεινοὺς εἶναι) καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοποννήσου μάλιστ' ἂν ἡσυχάζειν (πρὸς γὰρ ἂν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἰ ἐξῆν, χωρεῖν).[50]

> "Since, he says, the other allies would not make peace with Athens, the Lacedaimonians did so by themselves, (A) since they thought that the Argives would thus be least likely to go over to the Athenians in order to attack them. (B) For although the Argives had previously made a peace with the Lac., now that the Ath. were doing well they did not, when Lichas and Amp. came, wish to renew it. (C) The Argives did not wish to renew it because they thought that without the Ath. the Lac. were not formidable. (D) For if there were no peace, so that the Argives and Achaeans could go over to the Athenians, they would revolt to Athens."

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[49] The cause was probably a misread compendium for the prefix: for references, see n. 6 above.

[50] I add οὕτως not only for the sense (cf. the scholium) but because 16 letters is enough to be a line-length in a papyrus: thus a line was lost.

The two parentheses are thus symmetrical (as already explained above). Madvig, of course, construed νομίσαντες as did Göller, Hobbes and the scholium; it was precisely the change of tense in the participles that led him not to delete but to supplement. On ἐπιτίθεσθαι, to which Gomme preferred ἰέναι but which is abundantly Thucydidean, see Bétant s.v. On postponed τε see e.g. Hammer 64–71 (esp. 69–70): the thing is so common in Thuc. that Poppo is wrong to make a fuss about this instance.

None of this rules out Böhme's suggestion, that Ἀθηναίους at the end should be Ἀργείους: that corruption would then be very early.

CHAPTER SIX

"VALLA NON VERTIT"

> [transimus ad Vallam] qui Thuc. historiam a. 1452 ex libro manu scripto Latine convertit, quo fit, ut eius interpretatio ipsa codicis instar sit. Cuius quidem auctoritas non potest levis esse, quum praestantissimos libros, qui collati sunt, studiose sequatur, et vulgatam ubi primum atque secundum eorum genus spernit [i.e. *vulgatam ubi optimis codicibus dissimilis videtur*], pariter deserat. (Poppo, anno 1821)

> Interpretatio denique Latina, quam a 1452 Nicolai v pontificis iussu fecit Laurentius Valla, nullo modo codicis instar haberi debet, nec nisi quibusdam in locis, ubi suo Marte codicum mendas feliciter sustilisse videtur, vir doctus laudandus est. (Jones, anno 1900.)[1]

The truth about Valla is too complex for these aphorisms. In fact Jones and Poppo had each a real insight which the other failed to grasp. Following Hude, Jones was wrong to imagine that the good readings implied by Valla's Latin, of which there are hundreds, were mostly reached "suo Marte." Valla can now be shown to have used at least two very interesting Greek MSS which are now lost; and Poppo's intuition of this is one of his triumphs. What he failed to see was that Valla's exemplars—though at times alone right—were *recentiores*, basically derivative, heavily contaminated and full of late conjectures. Hude and Jones sensed this because they had a much

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[1] Bibliography: G.B. Alberti "Tucidide nella traduzione . . . di L. Valla," *S.I.F.C.* 1957 224–249 (hereafter = "Traduzione"), "Qu. T." XIII (1967) 3–13, *Thuc. Historiae* cxix–cxxxii; F. Ferlauto, *Il testo di Tucidide e la traduzione latina di Lorenzo Valla*; E.B. Fryde *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* 28–9, 87–99; Hemmerdinger, *Essai* 58–60; Hude, *Ed.max.* I. xii, II. iv–v; Jones, OCT preface p. iv; D.M. Lewis (rec. Ferlauto) *CR 30* (1980) 276–8; M. Pade, "Valla's Thucydides: Theory and Practice in a Renaissance Translation," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 36 (1985) 275–301; Poppo, *Prolegomena* 72–5 (still worth reading); J.U. Powell, "The Papyri of Thuc. and the Translation of Laurentius Valla," CQ 23 (1929) 11–14; R.J.W. Westgate *TAPA* 67 (1936) 240–51; N.G. Wilson *From Byzantium to Italy* 71–2.

With *Poppo* as quoted above compare *Stahl* xxvi–xxvii (and it is Stahl who quotes from Valla's Latin more constantly than does anyone else); with *Jones* as quoted compare *Hude* I.12. On *Pade* see the caveats in n. 6 below and in Appendix IV. *Wilson*, though the latest to summarize Valla's worth for Thucydidean criticism, is bland and overcautious, also oddly inaccurate as regards the stemma. It is as if he had read nothing on this subject except—none too attentively—*Lewis*'s astute but not impeccable article.

clearer idea of the stemma—that is, of what particular readings really do possess *auctoritas*. In sum, this translation often repays close study, yet is not less full of traps than are the scholia discussed in the preceding chapter.[2] In what follows, I examine (1) the evidence about Valla and the stemma; (2) the dull, basically unsound criterion *Valla non vertit* (i.e. he seems to expose interpolation by omitting words); then (3) a phenomenon that we can term *Valla vertit alia* (i.e., one finds not mere omissions, but real glimpses of a text other than ours).

1. *Valla and the Stemma*

On the rough map of the stemma, Valla's exemplars are located thus by G.B. Alberti, who for some years closely investigated the matter:

> Quid multa? Valla noster—nisi erro—duo deperdita Graeca exemplaria, *rho* et *xi* adhibuit, quorum alterum (*rho*) a nobis satis perspici potest, parente Nf et filio Pi servatis; alterum autem (*xi*) ex parte tantum novimus, testibus codice H in VII.5.1–50.1 et correctoribus H^2 (in I.–VII.5.1) Ot^2 Pl^3. Ex quo efficitur ut Vallae interpretatio non solum post VII.50 magni habenda sit. (Alberti, *Historiae* cxxx–cxxxi)

As often when he "locates" unknown and heavily contaminated MSS, the clarity of Alberti's prose is deceptive. Note well that here nothing *satis perspici potest* including "*rho*." What of *rho*? Its parent, Nf, derives in 1–1.108 and in 3.28–end from some good *alpha* MS, that was akin to G, but lacked both G's peculiar defects and its many later-hand corrections (op. cit. xcv–xcvii); but in 1.109–3.27, Nf derives from *psi* (=J K Pl Ud etc.: loc. cit.). All this is clear enough—so long as one bear in mind the hybrid nature of *psi*, and the fact that *rho* reflects two different collations with *xi*![3] In addition, as was said above, Valla used *xi* directly. But that lost, problematical entity, full of old

[2] It seems worth noting that most of the problems connected with the use of Valla's translation are closely akin to those that confront editors of Aristotle's *Politics*, when they appeal to the Latin translation of the Vetus Interpres: cf. W.L. Newman, II (1887) xli–lii, lxi–lxvi, III (1902) xxiii–xxv.

[3] Alberti op. cit., cix f. Because Nf^2 agrees with H, B and other *xi* texts, we suppose that Nf (*rho*'s parent) was collated with *xi*. Then, because in *rho*'s copy Pi, the late hand Pi^3 gives additional *xi* readings, we suppose that *rho* was itself again collated with *xi*. To this extent, and because we can also discern its *alpha* ancestry, *rho* "satis perspici potest." But note well: apart from such agreements, *rho* is a mere ghost.

readings, was itself collated not only with B but with an E ancestor, which had been contaminated with many *psi* readings![4]

Quid multa? Valla in sum is an aromatic stew of *alpha* (CG) readings, *psi* readings (obtained in 1.109–3.27 directly, elsewhere by collation) and *Xi* readings (obtained *passim* both directly and indirectly). Since we possess but partial "copies" of these many-layered, copiously annotated MSS (this applies even to *alpha*), and since in 1.1–7.5.1 and 7.50–end our precious "*xi*" is only what this or that collator chose to preserve, it follows that except where his readings reflect very plain family errors, Valla is always potentially valuable and that a critic—after having glanced at the stemma just to avoid a blunder—must rely chiefly on his own *iudicium.* Today we can discern, in most places, hardly more than Poppo could.

2. *"Valla non vertit."*

But *pace* Poppo, it seems best to admit at once that in the detection of interpolated phrases, when used as the purely *negative* evidence "Valla non vertit," this Latin tends to carry little weight, either by itself or in combination with other evidence. In general, the translation has somewhat the same status as certain scholia. For on the one hand, when it is used *positively* as suggesting a new reading, or as confirming the reading of another MS, it is often decisive. This happens especially in the last two books, where Valla often supports what are plainly *xi* and *Omega* readings; and so I appeal to him most often in Ch. IX which concerns Book 8. And as we saw strikingly at 5.47.6–7, there are places where Valla alone preserves the truth.[5] But in cases of mere omission we cannot discern whether he is faithful

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[4] Alberti op. cit. cxvii, cxxx. All this makes the head spin. Thus E.B. Fryde (p. 90) can be pardoned for an apparent blunder: he suggests that since he translates the *Vita*, Valla must have used yet a third exemplar. The *Vita* is from *Psi*; Fryde overlooks the fact that *Xi*, which Valla used, was collated with *Psi*.

[5] For example 6.55.2 εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτατον πρῶτον γῆμαι. καὶ ἐν τῇ <u>πρώτῃ</u> πρώτος γέγραπται: αὐτῇ Poppo: "in ipso titulari lapide" Valla. On such readings see especially Alberti "Traduzione" 240–7. (It is interesting that 5.47, to which Lewis and Wilson assign such importance, is not even discussed by Alberti.) Ferlauto 14–30 lists 123 additional places where Valla alone has the text conjectured by modern scholars; of these 20 or so (reduced by Lewis [277] to 11 or so) seem both right and the certain result not of "translation habits" but of good readings. (At the same time, of course, there is no way of knowing how many of these modern conjectures were made by editors privily consulting Valla.)

to his exemplar;[6] and even when some omission does seem striking, we must still recall that *xi* and *rho*, though full of good readings, are *recentiores* less trustworthy than *Theta*.[7] Thus, of Valla's pure omissions one is sceptical even after 7.50 where H breaks off. It is true that here the inclusions of other *xi* MSS cannot be trusted (since they all collated); but neither, I think, can Valla's omissions be trusted.[8]

Still, the criterion *Valla non vertit* is much adduced (especially, as was said in n. 1 above, by Stahl); and every now and then an omission has something impressive about it. I here discuss nine such places, proceeding from those in which I think Valla's omission right (there is interpolation) to the more and more doubtful. Except in the first two examples I doubt myself if this Latin counts itself as "evidence;" but it will serve as a frame for the citing of these instances.

Right omissions. At 5.116.1. (q.v., VIII) τὰ διαβατήρια ἱερὰ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις (del. Cobet, om. Valla), the Latin does seem real evidence: this is not the sort of thing that either Valla or a copyist would omit deliberately.

Similarly:

> 1.100.3 . . . ὡς οἰκιοῦντες τὰς τότε καλουμένας 'Εννέα ὁδούς, νῦν δὲ 'Αμπφίπολιν, τῶν μὲν 'Εννέα ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς εἶχον 'Ηδωνοί,
> (A)[9] προελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐς μεσόγειαν
> (B) διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβησκῷ τῇ 'Ηδωνικῇ

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[6] On *omissions*, in particular, that look like errors either by Valla or by Greek copyists, see Ferlauto 41–9; also Alberti "Traduzione" 246 nn. 2, 4; also Poppo himself p. 75.

On slapdash "proofreading" by Valla and his copyist, see Appendix IV.

On crude defects in Valla's knowledge of Greek, see, in addition to the examples in section (3) below, Wilson 69–71, 73, also Pade 298–300. Pade's is also the only study of Valla's "translation habits" in general. It is unfortunately a very tissue of blunders (the two cited in App. IV are far from atypical), so that her general remarks remain quite unproven. But she uncovers several interesting facts; the most disturbing is that, apparently, Valla tends to translate ὡς + fut. participle as *tamquam* . . . *-urus*, "as if going to—" (Pade loc. cit.).

[7] See e.g. Alberti "Qu. T." XIII, the long list of Pi^3-Valla agreements: at times they seem conjectures, at times errors. Another problem is that, at times, Valla seems to represent a conflation; thus (according to most edd.; but see index s.v.) at 8.23.5 *peditatus sociorum itemque classiarius* for τῶν ξυμμάχων and ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν; also 2.49.6 δι' αὐτὴν ἀσθενείᾳ ἀπεφθείροντο ABEFM: διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν διεφθείροντο C<G>: *debilitate ipsa*—i.e. δι' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀσθένειαν—Valla. (Valla's reading may at first seem right—but not if one consider the entire context. Also, very attractive is the conjecture of Croiset, δι' αὐτὴν ἀσθενείᾳ δὴ ἐφθείροντο. This I think supported by Lucr. 6. 1199–1201, which ends "posterius tamen hunc tabes letumque manebat.")

[8] Thus, *pace* Ferlauto and Lewis, I am not impressed by Valla's omitting τὸ ξενικόν at 8.25.2 (q.v. in Ch. VIII).

[9] At times in quoting the Greek and Latin, here as in Appendix IV, I label the

(C) ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ξυμπάντων οἷς πολέμιον
ἦν τὸ χώριον αἱ Ἐννέα ὁδοὶ κτιζόμενον

ξυμπάντων] ξύμπαντες Poppo, edd., coll. Diod. 11.70, Hdt. 9.75, Paus. 1.29.4) | nom. secl. Cobet et pler. edd.

. . . (A) sed progressi in mediterranea Thraciae
(C) ab ipsis Thracis, quibus infestum erat id oppidum si incoleretur,
(B) apud Dramiscum Hedonicum omnes sunt intercempti.

There is no doubt about this: the name is not only otiose but also interferes with the participle (for we have an *ab urbe condita* construction: "to whom the foundation of the place was repugnant." Thus Valla's intelligent "si incoleretur"). Possibly, the intrusion is not a gloss but dittography after four "lines" of 36.5 letters apiece (or, if there was transposition, three such lines. On such errors see Ch. X, part 2).

6.23.3 . . . ὅτι ἐλάχιστα τῇ τύχῃ παραδοὺς ἐμαυτὸν βούλομαι ἐκπλεῖν παρασκευῇ (-ὴ CMAB) δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰκότων ἀσφαλὴς ἐκπλεῦσαι. Dell. Dobree, Krüger, Stahl, Steup, Hude: "volo proficisci quam minime memet fortunae committens, opportunis rebus instructis atque munitus" Valla. This, of course, Valla might well have omitted himself. But in any case the repetition has so little point that despite a putative *variatio* with the tenses (hence Ros 350), it seems mere dittography. As in many other such cases (Ch. X, 4) the copyist's eye would have skipped 38 letters.

Less certain is 7.81.4 . . . καὶ ἐν πολλῷ θορύβῳ αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦσαν: ". . . et magna perturbatione ipse pariter ac milites eius afficerentur" Valla. Jones keeps the word. Krüger and Stahl deleted on the grounds that Nikias had not only Athenians with him; and though I put no faith in Valla's evidence, yet copyists did incorporate such glosses as this, and I cannot see how to answer this objection.

Wrong or very doubtful omissions. 5.82.4 καὶ ὕστερον ἐλθόντων πρέσβεων ἀπό τε τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἔξω Ἀργείων: secl. Portus et plures edd.: "et cum postmodum legati venissent tam ab iis qui in urbe erant quam ab exsulibus Argivis" Valla. Here even Jones excises. But after all, there is no apparent cause of intrusion. Much likelier,

clauses (A), (B) etc. in order to show at a glance how Valla has changed the word order. For he seems normally to imitate the Greek order closely (see below on 8.68.1–2); and I am not sure that, in some places, his different order does not imply a transposition either in *Theta* or in his own exemplar.

I think, is the slight transposition of Müller-Strübing: καὶ ἀγγέλων τῶν ἔξω κτλ. Then in *Theta* the order got changed mechanically, or by someone who disliked the postponed τε,[10] while in Valla, or in the *recc.* from which he worked, the word was excised as otiose.

At 5.32.5 Valla omits ὥσπερ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ εἶχον, which Jones brackets following Stahl; but after all, if one take ὥσπερ to mean "on the same terms," the phrase does make a point.

At 5.110.2 καὶ οὐ περὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς οἰκειοτέρας ξυμμαχίδος τε καὶ γῆς ὁ πόνος ὑμῖν ἐστιν, Valla alone, followed by Poppo and Stahl, omits the phrase. At first sight, (a) it looks very like a gloss: for scholiasts do commonly supply γῆς (for its interpolation see on 2.11.2, Ch. II, 1); then (b) the Greek is slightly queer: for in the other places where the adjective ξυμμαχίς seems used to mean τὸ ξυμμαχικόν (1.110.4, 2.10.1, 2.80.1, 5.36.1) one can in thought supply γῆ (however distantly), as here one cannot; and here alone it would be itself modified by an adjective (i.e. other than ἄλλης as in 1.110.4), which is even akin to it in meaning; and then (c) the phrase seems otiose, in view of the preceding τράποιντ' ἂν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούς λοιποὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων. But the last objection (c) becomes less impressive when one notices (as Steup) the chiasmus formed by these two phrases; objection (b) disappears when one suspects another chiasmus, such that προσηκούσης modifies γῆς, οἰκειοτέρας modifies ξυμμαχίδος; and most important perhaps, (a) it is impossible to imagine the actual form of the gloss. If a scholiast said, for example, "with τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης . . . οἰκειοτέρας understand ξυμμαχίδος and γῆς."—then either (1) he is himself boldly using the adjective as a noun, which seems improbable; or (2) he is glossing προσηκούσης one way (with an adjective) and οἰκειοτέρας another way (with a noun), which also seems improbable. Thus, Steup and Jones are right to retain the phrase.

> 2.16.1 τῇ τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκήσει μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνῳκίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὅμως οἱ πλείους τῶν τε ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πανοικεσίᾳ γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες οὐ ῥᾳδίως τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο.

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[10] This is so common in Thuc., especially after a preposition, that examples are scarcely needed; but e.g. 4.28.4 καὶ πελταστὰς οἳ ἦσαν ἔκ τε Αἴνου βεβοηθηκότες καὶ ἄλλοθεν τοξότας τετρακοσίους, 4.100.1 (bis) μεταπεμψάμενοι ἔκ τε τοῦ Μηλιῶς κόλπου ἀκοντίστας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ βεβοηθηκότων . . . Κορινθίων . . . ἐστράτευσαν . . . καὶ προσέβαλον τῷ τειχίσματι ἄλλῳ τε τρόπῳ πειράσαντες καὶ μηχανὴν προσήγαγον . . . τοιάνδε.

αὐτονόμου οἰκήσεως Pl³ | "μετεῖχον etiam Π⁸ sed vix sanum: secl. Driessen" πανοικεσίᾳ Lipsius (et plures edd.) transp. post ῥᾳδίως

igitur suo fere arbitratu Athenienses passim domicilia habentes, postquam una in moenia coiere, tamen ob morem in agris agendi[11] cum omni familia, plerique et priorum et posteriorum usque ad hoc bellum, non facile migrabantur etc.

Now on the one hand, μετεῖχον can scarcely "take" the dative, and the sentence does very well without it; and Valla, I suspect, really did not have the word.[12] Also, as will be shown in Ch. VIII, 4, Byzantine readers did insert verbs to elucidate periods that they could not construe. The trouble is that this one elucidates nothing, so that like Marchant we have to see in it the mere "relic" of a much longer gloss. But since the last word of the preceding sentence is πόλις—and since οὖν returns us from a long digression to 15.3, where the subject is also πόλις—and since ellipse of πόλις or πολιτείας is common in all authors including Thuc. (e.g. 4.106.1 τῆς ἴσης καὶ ὁμοίας μετέχοντα)—and since, too, "even the papyrus" has the verb—we ought probably to suppose that not a copyist but Thuc. put it here. Valla's exemplar had probably been emended.[13]

At the notorious place 2.42.4 (q.v. in X, 4), Valla's omissions—most interestingly of the oft-suspected ἡγησάμενοι—are at heart not more convincing; but I quote the whole of his version here, as it shows better than most others his rather brilliant, not quite licit maneuvers in a hard place. (I here confine to the notes my comments on everything but the main point. The punctuation is that of Stephanus:)

veluti isti, quorum nemo neque divitiis mollitus est, praeoptans illis in posterum frui neque spe paupertatis in divitias commutandae a subeundis asperis retentus est, hostilis poenae quam salutis suae cupidiores.[14] Simulque hoc omnium pulcherrimum periculum existimantes, voluerunt

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[11] *Ago* he uses as in Lewis & Short s.v. II.D.5 ad fin., equivalent to *dego*; and so it is as if he read, what Herwerden proposed, διαγενόμενοι. Cf. 5.16. Palaeographically the corruption is intelligible: note the homoiotes in PANOIKECIAIDIAGENOMENOI. But as Prof. A.J. Graham points out to me, such use of "synonymia" (διαγενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες) does not seem Thucydidean.

[12] Note how exact he is otherwise, even in the particles ("postquam . . . tamen . . .") and the word order.

[13] Some *xi* recc. have τῆς . . . οἰκήσεως. That too is probably a conjecture: but a more intelligent one, since after all we do have to explain where μετεῖχον came from.

[14] So far I think everything exact and brilliant; note especially the word order, and the gerundives, which, evading difficulty, catch the resonance of the Greek.

> ex ultione hostium ad haec pervenire:[15] freti spe, id quod non viderant, consequendi:[16] dignum etiam opus, ex iis quae iam viderant, ducentes, cui se crederunt:[17] satiusque esse in propulsanda vi, pati, quam in cedendo incolumes fieri: et dum dedecus infamiae fugiunt, rem corpore pertulerunt et brevissimum intra tempus, cum fortuna belli potius per summam gloriam quam cum timore transigere.[18]

Curiously, ". . . satiusque esse in propulsanda vi, pati, quam in cedendo incolumes fieri" implies just the text recommended by Eduard Schwartz (*Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* [1919] 257); for with Dionysius, Valla reads [ἐν αὐτῷ] τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι, [καὶ] παθεῖν and [τὸ] σῴζεσθαι; and with Schwartz he also omits ἡγησάμενοι (apparently getting "satius" from ἀξιοῦντες . . . μᾶλλον).[19] These agreements—combined with the Dion.-Valla omission of μετ' αὐτοῦ—are curious. But (a) elsewhere in this same sentence Valla is a trifle too free to inspire complete trust; while (b) if he can be trusted, his text itself seems wrong (Ch. X, 4; and μετ' αὐτοῦ which he and Dion. omit is very obviously authentic); and finally (c) Powell has shown that some *recentiores* did collate with Dionysius (on which see Appendix III), so that that cannot be ruled out here.

3. *Valla vertit alia*

Thucydidean scholars beginning with Poppo have long pored over this Latin, sifting its gravel in search of the gold of old readings. As a rule, the more minute the divergence from *Theta* implied by the Latin, the more convincing it is as "evidence." For on the one hand,

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[15] ἐβουλήθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι. Note Valla's compression. But plainly he read ἐφίεσθαι (not emending with Poppo and others); and interestingly—since, I think, he never deliberately omits ideas—he omits μετ' αὐτοῦ as does Dion. Hal.

[16] ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες. It is hard to render in Latin the abstractness of article + adj., article + infin.! Still, he does not seem quite to get the point; and curiously, he translates τοῦ κατορθώσειν as it were transitive and the genitive as depending on ἐλπίδι, implying A B A B word order.

[17] ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἤδη ὁρωμένου σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι. The Latin seems to mean, "thinking, from what they had already seen, that the proper task was the one to which they now surrendered themselves."

[18] Since "transigere cum" means "to be done with," "to have done with," Valla takes τύχης and δέους as parallel and both dependent on the verb, while ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης go together. This I think perverse; but see e.g. Gomme ad loc.

[19] As Schwartz says, the initial corruption would have been τὸ to τῷ, which the interpolations are an attempt to justify.

Valla's translating has a certain basic exactitude and fineness of texture, so that he can be trusted to witness even particles, prefixes, etc.; and to suppose errors or carelessness by him is rash.[20] On the other hand, the actual structure of the sentence itself is now and then rendered very freely; and this tends to happen precisely in places of greatest difficulty.[21] Thus, his place in the stemma has been ascertained exactly, yet at the same time, in some *cruces* where editors ransack every other kind of evidence, he is rarely even cited.

But some of those places, neglected even by Ferlauto, are after all interesting; and I here quote two of them. Of these the first, in particular, is extremely hard, yet seems worth discussing both on account of several neglected scraps of evidence and because it is paradigmatic. Both places belong to that part of the text (viz. 7.50 ff.) where, as has been said, Valla alone represents *xi*.

I quote the whole of 7.68.1. because the second clause contains an instructive mistake by Valla and a good, neglected conjecture by Badham. But I confine my comments on that to the notes, and discuss only the somewhat notorious μέν-clause. I underline the one word I think certainly corrupt:

> 7.68.1 πρὸς οὖν ἀταξίαν τε τοιαύτην . . . ὀργῇ προσμείξωμεν, καὶ νομίσωμεν ἅμα μὲν νομιμώτατον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους οἳ ἂν ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ προσπεσόντος δικαιώσωσιν ἀποπλῆσαι τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον, ἅμα δ' ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκγενησόμενον ἡμῖν ⌜κατὰ⌝ τὸ λεγόμενόν που ἥδιστον εἶναι.
>
> δικαιώσωσιν] . . . .] ἴωσι Π^{18} (<δικαίως> ἴωσιν coni. Grenfell-Hunt) κατὰ Badham: καὶ codd.[22]

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[20] A reader can get a sense of this exactitude from the specimens quoted above, but above all from 8.68.1–2 quoted below. There are more systematic proofs of it in Ferlauto (e.g. pp. 63–6 listing Valla's always true renderings of παραγίγνομαι, περιγίγνομαι, ἐπιπαριέναι, παριέναι, παρεῖναι). It should be set in the scales against the occasional errors that Pade, Wilson and (below, and in Appendix IV) I myself so carefully point to.

[21] See App. IV. (Cf. Alberti, "Traduzione" pp. 225–6. But I would be more cautious than Alberti about assuming this in a given place; for I often get the impression that Valla's MS was really more corrupt than ours.)

[22] I do not see how νομίσωμεν can govern the participles. Both seem used absolutely; and καὶ could be deleted (as Powell, with the recc.) or taken as adverbial (*pace* Dover *HCT* ad loc.) or emended as Badham to κατὰ. (Badham also deletes ἐκγενησόμενον ἡμῖν—the interpolation would have followed the corruption—but that is unconvincing.) Badham's emendation seems minimally violent since the compendia, on the one hand, and the abbreviations, on the other, for καί and κατά were at times identical. (See e.g. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri* 45–8 [e.g. κ' attested for both words]; Allen's *Notes on Abbreviations* pp. 17–18 and plate V;

> ... existimantes acquissimum esse simul de adversariis, qui ad nos vexandos venerunt, sumere ultionem et saturare animi iracundiam, simul inimicos propulsare rem nobis maximae voluptatis futuram quotiens alicubi narrabitur.[23]

> M f c scholium: ν ο μ ί σ ω μ ε ν ἅ μ α μ ὲ ν . . .· νομιμώτατον ὀργῇ προσμῖξαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις· προσῆκον γὰρ (1) τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐπελθόντας παρίστασθαι τοῦτο, καὶ (2) κρίνειν ὅτι δεῖ ἀποπλῆσαι τὸν θυμὸν ἐν τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ ἀδικήματος.[24]

Now if we ignore the other evidence and assume that *Theta*'s text is sound, what does it say? Either (as most scholars) "It is most lawful when men (οἳ ἂν) think it right to sate their anger in revenge of an invader," or else (as I think better) "It is most lawful to sate one's anger, in cases when one can justify (this) on the grounds of revenge against an invader."[25]

But in either construing this text seems improbable. Its chief problems are (a) the plural relative, following a plural noun to which it does not refer; (b) the fact that the thought itself is tautological: "let us reflect that it is most lawful if men think it right" (still worse, Powell's and Grenfell-Hunt's <δικαίως> ἴωσι, "it is most lawful when men attack justly"!); and (c) the fact that the papyrus text did differ from *Theta*'s. Then (d), *pace* Alberti, Valla cannot possibly have had *Theta*'s text; for as Powell rightly observed, "he plainly means "qui venerunt" to render οἳ ἂν . . . ἴωσι. . . . for if he had had δικαιώσωσι of the MSS before him, he could hardly have failed to see that it

Turner *Greek Manuscripts* p. 102 #60 [Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* papyrus, late i A.D.: κατά = κ` and καί = κ ʹ].) Compare 1.140.1 ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἧσσον ἀμαθῶς χωρῆσαι ἢ κα͟ὶ τὰς διανοίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων: κατὰ Pi³, cf. Valla *per hominum cogitationes*: this at any rate is scarcely a *facilior lectio*.

[23] "quotiens alicubi narrabitur" apparently for τὸ λεγόμενόν που! But note how exact and faithful, even in word order, are Valla's six initial words. The trouble begins, as often in Valla, exactly in the place where corruption has been suspected (cf. other examples in App. IV).

[24] This verbose, confused scholium I think a conflation akin to those hypothesized in App. II (cf. Ch. V, 1). Clause (2) intelligibly paraphrases our present text; for κρίνειν ὅτι δεῖ = δικαιώσωσι, ἐν τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ ἀδικήματος = ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ προσπεσόντος, and ἀποπλῆσαι is taken (as by most readers today) as depending on δικαιώσωσι. But what of clause (1)? On τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐπελθόντας, in particular, see below.

[25] Thus (if the text were sound) I would understand ἀποπλῆσαι twice ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, and so make it dependent on νομιμώτατον. For the indirect speech overall seems chiastic in structure, with the superlative adjectives on the ends and the infinitives they govern in the middle. This chiasmus was noticed by J.U. Powell (*CQ* 1949 p. 13); but overlooking the brachylogy, he thought that in order to get it we must read δικαίως ἴωσι (which he thought the reading of the papyrus and of Valla).

governs ἀποπλῆσαι." Alberti thought that Valla's "qui ad nos vexandos venerunt" was influenced by the scholium.[26] But the scholium seems (e) itself another piece of evidence against *Theta*; for whatever else one think of this confused, perhaps conflated note, τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐπελθόντας seems too strong for τοῦ προσπεσόντος.

Surely, since both Valla and the scholium imply it, the papyrus must have had ἀδίκως ἴωσιν.[27] This seems to open two main possibilities:

> (1) *Text suggested by Valla and clause (1) of the scholium:*
> ἅμα μὲν νομιμώτατον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, οἳ ἂν
> <ἀδίκως ἴωσιν>, ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ [? τοῦ προσπεσόντος] (39 letters)
> [ἀδίκως ἴωσιν] ἀποπλῆσαι τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον. . . .
>
> (2) *Probable text of the papyrus:*
> ἅμα μὲν νομιμώτατον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους
> οἳ ἂν ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ προσπεσόντος ἀδίκως ἴωσιν,
> ἀποπλῆσαι τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον. . . .

(1) presupposes a simple transposition, closely akin to others in *Theta* (see Ch. X, parts 2 and 4 passim). But (2)—"it is most lawful to sate one's anger against opponents who, on the pretext of punishing an aggressor, attack unjustly"—has certain advantages; for it is closest to *Theta*; it makes every word count (including τοῦ προσπεσόντος which in [1] is otiose, as if it were a gloss[28]); and the pretext of which it speaks is just the one that the Athenians did actually use.[29] In this

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[26] Alberti, "Traduzione" 241–2. He thinks that "qui ad nos vexandos venerunt" renders τοῦ προσπεσόντος, that "sumere ultionem" translates ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ, and that δικαιώσωσιν is omitted as having already been implied by "existimantes aequissimum esse." But I doubt if Valla is ever so free as that (compare 8.68.2 quoted below); besides, there is not the slightest reason why he should have had trouble with τοῦ προσπεσόντος, which elsewhere he renders correctly. But the decisive objection is that of Powell just quoted.

[27] With the concept itself of "unjust invasion" cf. 2.71.2 στρατεῦσαι τε μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδίκως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ. With the corruption cf. 6.60.5 where the recc. corrupt ἀδίκως into ἐνδίκως, and still better 7.63.4 εἰς . . . τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι [τὸ διακεῖσθαι recc.] πολὺ πλεῖον μετείχετε. ὥστε κοινωνοὶ μόνοι ἐλευθέρως ἡμῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντες, <u>δικαίως</u> [ἂν del. edd.] αὐτὴν νῦν μὴ καταπροδίδοτε. Π[18] probably (in the opinion of Grenfell-Hunt) omits ἄν; but as they say, "this makes δικαίως very difficult [i.e. with the imperative], since ἀδίκως would rather be expected."

[28] Or conceivably—to play the Devil's advocate—the reverse is true. For perhaps what Thuc. wrote was ἅμα μὲν νομιμώτατον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ προσπεσόντος, ἀποπλῆσαι τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον, and οἱ ἂν ἀδίκως ἴωσιν—later corrupted—glossed τοῦ προσπεσόντος. The almost—but perhaps not quite—fatal objection to this would be the one already given, that οἱ ἂν ἀδίκως ἴωσιν seems too strong to be a gloss for τοῦ προσπεσόντος.

[29] The pretext is contrasted with the truth by Thucydides at 3.86.4, by Hermocrates

case, here as elsewhere, Valla's text remains unknown to us.

At 8.68.1–2 (q.v. Ch. II, Ch. X) we have a better idea of what Valla read in the hardest place. But I quote his version of the whole sentence because it illustrates, better than does any other passage quoted in this chapter, his normal extreme exactitude. I print the Latin between lines of the Greek except in two places, to be discussed later, where Valla changes the word order. I print in block letters those Latin words that correspond to nothing in our present Greek text.

ὁ μέντοι ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα ξυνθεὶς
    qui verum totum negotium composuit
ὅτῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη ἐς τοῦτο
    qua ratione ad hoc deveniretur
καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐπιμεληθεὶς Ἀντιφῶν ἦν,
    iam pridem praemeditatus fuit Antiphon,

ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀρετῇ τε οὐδενὸς ὕστερος
    vir Atheniensium sui temporis nulli secundus virtute
καὶ κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι γενόμενος καὶ ἃ γνοίη εἰπεῖν,
    atque idem praestantissimus in comminiscendo: et in eis quae sentiret promendis:
καὶ ἐς μὲν δῆμον οὐ παριὼν οὐδ' ἐς ἄλλον ἀγῶνα ἑκούσιος οὐδένα
    qui neque ad populum neque ullam in contionem voluntarius prodibat
ἀλλ' ὑπόπτως τῷ πλήθει διὰ δόξαν δεινότητος διακείμενος <?. . . >,
    sed cum suspectus vulgo propter opinionem facultatis IN DICENDO, CESSARET AB AGENDO:
τοὺς μέντοι ἀγωνιζομένους καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ πλεῖστα εἷς ἀνὴρ ὅστις ξυμβουλεύσαιτό τι δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν,
tamen hic unus, ut cuique aliquid aut in iudicio aut apud populum agenti consulebat, plurimum prodesse posse EXISTIMABATUR;

A) καὶ αὐτός τε ἐπειδὴ [μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία] καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα κατέστη,
B) τά τε τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο,
C) ἄριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ
D) ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων, αἰτιαθεὶς ὡς ξυγκατέστησε,
E) θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος.

et qui
B) postmodum cum statu quadrigentorum collapso, acta illorum populus ultum iret

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at 6.33.2, 76.2, 79.1–2; Euphemus defends it at 6.86.2 (φαμὲν) ξύμμαχοι δὲ καὶ νῦν καὶ πρότερον τοῖς ἐνθάδε ὑμῶν ἀδικουμένοις οὐκ ἄκλητοι, παρακληθέντες δὲ ἥκειν (cf. 87.4: the Athenians *always* succour the wronged, punish aggressors); but even the arch-patriot Nicias sees through it: 6.10.5 ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἐγεσταίοις δὴ οὖσι ξυμμάχοις ὡς ἀδικουμένοις ὀξέως βοηθοῦμεν, ὑφ' ὧν δ' αὐτοὶ πάλαι ἀφεστώτων ἀδικούμεθα, ἔτι μέλλομεν ἀμύνεσθαι.

A) ipseque in iudicium vocaretur
D) tanquam unus ex istarum rerum[30] auctoribus
C) videtur mihi optime omnium ad meam usque memoriam
E) causam capitis dixisse.

The structure of the whole is spelled out more fully in Ch. IX. The Greek is organized by corresponsive particles: τε . . . καὶ . . . (μὲν . . . οὐδ' . . .) καὶ . . . (τε . . . τε . . .). Valla having no such particles articulates the parts well enough by other means: "vir Ath. . . . (atque idem . . .) . . . qui . . . tamen hic unus . . . et qui . . .": this need for "et qui" to begin the last part, and the impossibility of saying "et qui ipseque" etc., is partly what leads him into freer word order here.[31] But I think it likely that he had neither *beta*'s text nor *alpha*'s, but something like that which I have printed.[32]

At τοὺς μέντοι κ.τ.λ. he is also free, but only because he is there forced to it by the interlacing Greek; and precisely here one most admires the ingenuity of his precision. I spell this out most pedantically: τοὺς μέντοι ἀγωνιζομένους (tamen . . . agenti) καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ (aut in iudicio aut in populo) πλεῖστα (plurimum) εἷς ἀνὴρ (hic unus) ὅστις ξυμβουλεύσαιτό τι (ut cuique aliquid [!]. . . consulebat) δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν (prodesse posse EXISTIMABATUR). "Existimabatur," like "in dicendo, cessaret ab agendo," he does "interpolate" perhaps. But in view of his general precision, and in view of the banalizing tendency of the recc. from which he worked, who would dare be certain that he had not these words in his text?[33]

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30 This is slightly wrong since, as Krüger says, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων depends on ἀπολογησάμενος.

31 Pade (p. 295 and n. 48) supposes that Valla's exact miming of Greek word order reflects incompetence, and his having first made a crude word-after-word "interlinear" version. But such tortuous mimesis is not, in fact, the easiest method: as one finds by attempting it.

Also, there is nothing peculiarly "Renaissance" in this trait (*pace* Pade loc. cit.). Compare Quintilian translating Plato, as shown by Couvreur *Rev. de Phil.* n.s. 17 (1893) 23–4.

32 As is pointed out by the attentive Andrewes (*HCT* ad loc.), Valla then does not render αἰτιαθεὶς; and one could suppose that "ipseque in iudicium vocaretur" was meant for that word. But I think the Latin a trifle too strong for that, and the rhythm and word order decisive (the clause labelled [A] above, in both the Greek and the Latin).

33 Or even, that Thuc. did not write them? I need scarcely point out how Thucydidean looks "in dicendo . . . in agendo." (The Greek could have been something like—*exempli gratia*— . . . τῶν μὲν λόγων, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ἀπηλλαγμένος, or . . . τῶι μὲν λέγειν, τοῦ δὲ πράττειν ἀπηλλαγμένος. Such omission is generally caused by homoioteleuton such as διακείΜΕΝΟΣ . . . ἀπηλλαγΜΕΝΟΣ . . .; and for such a line-

In sum, a little like the scholiasts, Valla should always be consulted, in spite of the somewhat oppressive, additional difficulties which he brings. One is sometimes tempted to wish that one had never seen this Latin; at such times, it is soothing to reflect that Valla felt the same way:

> Quo magis desperationem victoriae presumebam, quod meo mihi Marte agendum esset, neminemque haberem qui aut posset aut vellet auxilio esset...[34] Quotiens enim mihi videbar in suffodiendis cuniculis versari, aut in profundis lapidicinis, aut in scrutandis aurivenis intra viscera montium abditis unde nec suspicere nec prospicere nec respicere possem, sine ullo laboris mei socio aut consocio.

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length of c. 19 or 38 letters compare the examples in Ch. X, 4.) On the particles and on the larger structure of 8.68.1–2, see in Ch. IX s.v.

[34] I am here quoting from his preface to the translation. He is addressing Pope Nicholas V and complaining (implicitly) that Nicholas had sent away Cardinal Bessarion, who alone could have helped him with the Greek. Cf. his letter to Giovanni Tortelli of 28 Oct. 1448 (Valla, *Epistole* #44, p. 345): "Nunc me Thuc. excercet, duntaxat in orationibus, nec ullus presidio iuvor. Dominus Nicenus [i.e. Bessarion] abest, Rinucium experiri non audeo, forsitan aut non satisfacturum mihi aut cum difficultatibus sententiarum non colluctaturum; Trapezuntium et morosum et mihi nescio quam aequum consulere nolo. Ceteri nulli sunt. Constitui tamen adire dominum Nicenum" etc.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EVIDENCE OF PAPYRI

This extremely interesting "evidence" tends to be useless in particular cases; for apart from half a dozen small, merely possible exceptions, it is curiously negative.[1] To anyone who worries about the soundness of the tradition as a whole, this may seem not only unhelpful but even a bit disturbing. (See, for example, the two corruptions cited last in this chapter.) In Chapter XI I shall offer possible reasons for it; here I merely summarize the facts themselves.

Papyri do suggest two gloss-like and two conjecture-like intrusions, and I deal with these first.

According to E.G. Turner (*JHS* 76 [1956] 93–8), P. Hamb. 163 can be securely dated to the third century B.C. As with some other very early papyri, its variants of inflections, prefixes and the like seem abnormally many; and at one place a whole word is queer: 1.2.2 καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ διανοίᾳ (codd. παρασκευῇ.) Because of the striking fact that this reading is a *v.l.* in H, it seems possible, as Turner says, "to argue that διανοίᾳ, as *lectio difficilior*, is the right reading."[2] If so, we must take ἄλλῃ as in Smyth 1272, "attributively, with a substantive which is to be regarded as an appositive"; i.e. "Consequently they were strong neither in size of cities nor, either, in their plans."[3]

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[1] I.e., like the inscription we examined earlier, the papyri expose much minor corruption, but no intrusions larger than a particle, a prefix, etc. For a general discussion of Thuc. papyri, see especially the introduction of Turner and Hunt to P.Oxy. 1376; also Grenfell *JHS* 39 (1919): "It is now clear that the tradition of the mediaeval MSS of Thuc. is decidedly imperfect, and not a few roughnesses of his style are really due to scribes' errors, but on the other hand no extensive alteration of the text has taken place since the 1st century."

[2] Ibid. 98. Turner returned to this in *Greek Papyri* p. 112, there translating, "They were not strong in size of their cities or in mental attitude either." For more about the possible significance of this reading, see in Ch. XI. It suggests—though it does not prove—that the *Xi* text that both H and the papyrus appear to reflect is very old indeed.

[3] Of course, the word here had already been given this meaning (see e.g. Morris ad loc.); but we could see it as having invited the gloss.

For the idiom, see LSJ s.v. II.8 (e.g. Plato *Grg.* 473 d πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων), and for Thuc. see the many examples cited in Krüger's index (vol. 2, p. 235), e.g.

So far as I know, no editor has accepted this reading, and perhaps if Dover, Turner and its other promoters had to produce an actual text of Book 1, they would lose their nerve![4] The trouble is that, not because we are familiar with it but for other reasons, παρασκευῇ seems exactly right (e.g. 1.1.2, 1.18.3). Still, διανοίᾳ coheres well enough with 1.1.2 ἀκμάζοντές τε . . . ἀμφότεροι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὁρῶν . . . διανοούμενον;[5] and what, I confess, troubles me most is that, whereas it is impossible to imagine the H/papyrus reading as a gloss, yet the opposite gloss *did* intrude into the text at 6.65.1 οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Συρ., μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα θαρσεῖν **καὶ εἶναι ἐν διανοίᾳ** καὶ ἄνευ τούτων ἰέναι [παρεσκευάσθαι add. codd. (παρασκευᾶσθαι C: παρασκευάσασθαι recc.)] ἐπὶ Κατάνην, ἐπίστευσάν τε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πολλῷ ἀπερισκεπτότερον (κτλ.)

The next two places, also doubtful, were noticed by Paolo Focardi (*Aegyptus* 35 [1955] 60), viz. 8.24.3. Χίων μάχῃ νικήσαντες (κρατήσαντες P.Oxy. 2100) . . . ἀνάστατα ἐποίησαν τὰ ταύτῃ χωρία, καὶ ἐν Φάναις αὖθις ἄλλῃ μάχῃ ἐνίκησαν καὶ τρίτῃ ἐν Λευκωνίῳ. Here νικήσαντες does seem less attractive, as a possible *facilior lectio*, or as a reading possibly influenced by μάχῃ ἐνίκησαν; but one can scarcely fault Jones for preferring the MSS. At 8.92.6. ὡς δὲ ἐσηγγέλθη (sc. the uprising in the Peiraeus) τοῖς τετρακοσίοις (ἔτυχον δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ξυγκαθήμενοι) εὐθύς, πλὴν (om. P. Rainer 200) ὅσοις μὴ βουλομένοις ταῦτ' ἦν, ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν ἐς τὰ ὅπλα ἰέναι (κτλ.), there seems no strong motive for interpolation; but equally, no reason for omission; we must use internal criteria. If πλὴν is interpolated, then ταῦτ' refers to the uprising in the Peiraeus, and μὴ βουλομένοις to the extreme faction of the 400; if πλὴν is authentic, ταῦτ' refers to the sudden plans made in the council chamber, μὴ βουλομένοις to the moderates among the 400, Theramenes' allies. Either meaning seems acceptable so that, again, one can scarcely fault Jones for keeping the word. But excision seems a bit preferable, if only because we can then take ταῦτ' *apo koinou* with both verbs.

2.14.1 γυναῖκες καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευήν. (So far as I can see, Bétant does not recognize the idiom, and it must be sought among his examples "cum artic. *caeterus*, *reliquus*" beginning at the bottom of p. 42.)

[4] As Turner says (loc. cit.), it was Dover who pointed out to him the significance of this reading. For a typical reaction by an *editor*, see Luschnat, *Addenda* p. 204.

[5] Pertinent too perhaps are other passages in which διάνοια is used very concretely, to cover not only the "intention" but also that which is intended, e.g. 2.43.1 ἀτολμοτέραν διάνοιαν, 2.61.2 ταπεινὴ . . . ἡ διάνοια, 6.15.4 τὸ μέγεθος . . . τῆς διανοίας ὧν καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ἐν ὅτῳ γίγνοιτο ἔπρασσεν.

The fourth passage is 8.23.4 . . . ὁ Ἀστύοχος . . . οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τὴν Μυτιλήνην ὥρμησεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἔρεσον ἀποστήσας καὶ ὁπλίσας, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν ὁπλίτας πεζῇ παραπέμπει (κτλ.). P.Oxy. 2100 has not space for καὶ ὁπλίσας. Powell thought (cf. his OCT apparatus) that it was interpolated and that ὁπλίτας, which unfortunately is part of a gap in the papyrus, must have been ὁπλίσας. To me this does seem an improvement. But as the editors remark, "Possibly the omitted words, the loss of which is easily accounted for by the repetition of -σος καὶ, were added above the line."

Thus, three of the four exceptions are trivial as well as doubtful, and could have arisen quite mechanically. Three other intrusions exposed by papyri are certainly mechanical: on 2.11.6 οὕτω (om. Π^{20}) and 8.23.4 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν (om. B, Π^{24}) see Chapter X, 2 and 3 (on dittography). But 8.23.4 is of special interest, since B here represents *Omega*, and the coincidence gives a *terminus ante quem* (viz. ii A.D.) for the split between that and the *Theta* tradition. Valuable for a similar reason is another instance of dittography, at 6.1.2. καὶ τοσαύτη οὖσα ἐν εἰκοσισταδίῳ μάλιστα μέτρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἤπειρος οὖσα, sic ABCEFMZ: εἶναι recte H^2 Va^2 (i.e. *Xi*), P. Bodmer xxvii (c. iii–iv), Demetrius Phalereus.[6]

In sum, seven intrusions at most, only one of which (at 1.2.2) is memorable. None of this should obscure the main and firmest fact, which is that more starkly than does any other kind of evidence, the papyri oppose Rutherford's and Marchant's contention that our text was radically corrupted by Byzantine *magistelli*.[7] P.Oxy. 16 and 696 (i A.D.) contain all ten phrases excised by Rutherford in those portions of Book 4 that they cover, viz. 4.28.4 πελταστάς,[8] 34.1 τῷ ἀμύνασθαι and τοῦ θαρσεῖν, 4.36.3 τῶν Περσῶν (deleted also by Herwerden and

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[6] On this exceptionally interesting *Xi* papyrus see A. Carlini *Museum Helveticum* 32 (1975) 33–9. With the corrupt reading itself—"En novum exemplum participii pro infinitivi positi!" said Badham—compare the examples which I cite s.v. 4.64.1. Badham himself was too clever for his own good here (*Mnemos.* 2 [1874] 386): he demonstrated that the truth was ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥΣΘΑΙ! Most editors (with or without the recc.) had guessed the truth; and I suppose that this is a good warning not to write, with too much hugging of oneself, "sed unde ortum sit videor mihi satis probabiliter explicare posse."

[7] E.g. Marchant, Book 2, p. xxxix, "The comments in the text were probably added in the Christian era."

[8] In the following lists, nearly all the suspect words seem to me (as to Jones) defensible; and I shall comment in footnotes only on those that are not elsewhere discussed in this study, yet seem paradigmatic.

Stahl) and ἀλλά,[9] 37.1 αὐτοὺς and (deleted also—rightly perhaps—by Classen, Steup, Krüger, Herwerden, Stahl) τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι,[10] 38.2 καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, 38.3 τῶν 'Αθηναίων (also Krüger, Herwerden),[11] 39.1 οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ("inclusa abesse malim"—Herwerden).[12]

Similarly, P.Oxy. 1376 (ii–iii A.D.) confirms not one of Classen-Steup's excisions at 7.54 ff., e.g. 7.55.2. τὸ διάφορον αὐτοῖς, 7.57.5 τοῖς κτίσασι, 7.63.4. πολὺ πλεῖον; or those of Marchant, e.g. 56.2 μέρος, 57.3 'Εστίαιαν οἰκοῦντες, 57.5 μετὰ Συρακοσίων; or that of Bothe 57.6 Κυθήριοι.

Similarly, P.Oxy. 2100 (ii A.D.) does not support Classen-Steup in excising 8.23.5 κατὰ πόλεις, 8.24.2 ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου, 8.24.5 τὰ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ξυναναιρεθήσεσθαι, 8.52 ἤδη γὰρ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ 'Ρόδῳ ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐγεγένητο.

Similarly the commentator of P.Oxy. 853: at 2.4.2 he has τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν [ἐκφεύγειν codd.] which Hude and Herwerden very unwisely

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[9] I doubt the brachylogy supposed here by most editors, who follow Stahl in putting a comma after οὗτοί τε. It seems impossible to supply διεφθάρησαν since after all (as Jowett points out), the men on Sphacteria were not killed but taken alive. Nevertheless, excision of ἀλλά is probably wrong; for this kind of anacolouthon is too common in Thuc. to be the result solely of corrupt MSS. It tends to result either from a somewhat gratuitous anticipatory τε, that exists solely for the sake of formal correspondence and ignores the grammar, or from a *contamination of the main by a subordinate construction* (resulting e.g. in "apodotic" δέ, most palpably at 3.34.3, 4.80.4, or ἀλλά).

[10] 4.37.1 . . . βουλόμενοι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς 'Αθηναίοις ζῶντας, εἴ πως τοῦ [πώς του Steup] κηρύγματος ἀκούσαντες ἐπικλασθεῖεν τῇ γνώμῃ <u>τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι</u> (κτλ.). Rutherford (p. 19) saw in this phrase an explanation of τοῦ κηρύγματος. But on account of the same fact by grace of which we detect the interpolation—viz., that this same phrase occurs a little later in the sentence—this seems most improbable. The infinitive after ἐπικλασθεῖεν τῇ γνώμῃ seems defensible; it is the additional fact of the repetition that makes it really suspect: we have perhaps an instance of dittography by anticipation: see Ch. X, 3.

[11] (To Demosthenes' and Cleon's proposal for a truce, the Spartan prisoners replied that they must confer with their colleagues on the mainland as to what they should do:) καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν ἀφέντων, αὐτῶν δὲ <u>τῶν 'Αθηναίων</u> καλούντων ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου κήρυκας καὶ γενομένων ἐπερωτήσεων δὶς ἢ τρίς, ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου . . . ἀπήγγειλεν (κ.τ.λ.) This may be a gloss; but editors excise it, at least, on weak grounds. They suppose that μέν and δέ must contrast different *subjects* and that ἐκείνων μὲν refers plainly to the Athenians. But (A) ἐκείνων, emphatic, may very well be partitive gen. with οὐδένα, and (B) the second subject must be the Athenians; for since "they let none of *them* go" it was they themselves—the Ath.—who summoned people from the mainland. Cf. Steup, Graves.

[12] Χρόνος δὲ ὁ ξύμπας ἐγένετο ὅσον οἱ ἄνδρες [οἱ om. M Π²] ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μάχης, ἑβδομήκοντα ἡμέραι καὶ δύο. Thus, without the second οἱ, it *looks much less like a gloss*; and though it might still be one, suspicion is not conviction, and excision seems unjustified. This example may stand for many.

bracket;[13] at 2.15.4 (q.v. in Ch. IV) he has τῇ δωδεκάτῃ; at 2.16.1 (q.v. in Ch. VI) he has μετεῖχον which most editors bracket, and does not support the transposition of πανοικεσίᾳ.

This does not mean that all these readings are authentic; for example, the phrase at 4.37.1, like the mechanical intrusions cited earlier, probably is not. What plainly emerges is that the vast majority at least of cruder interpolations—resulting both from glosses and from mechanical error—would have to be posited as antedating the medieval tradition. We have already noticed more positive signs of this (e.g. at 8.68.2, 1.144.2, 2.21.1, 2.4.2, 2.21.3, 2.102.4, and the evidence of contradictory scholia) and will notice others (e.g. below on 7.58.3 and especially 2.46.3). Another strong hint is found at 2.21.3 where the OCT prints ὡς ἕκαστος ὥρμητο given by C G E: "ὥργητο vel ὤργητο M F A B γρG Hesych., agnoscit Π[8]"—i.e. the P.Oxy. 853 "commentary" has both.[14] Since ὥργητο is much less likely to be the gloss, and since at the same time its passive form is very improbable, Herwerden must be right here: what Thuc. wrote was ὦργα, and ὥρμητο was at some point, prior to the first century, written above the line.[15]

A hint stronger still was noticed by Claudio Galazzi, "P.Erl. 9: un frammento non riconosciuto di Thucydides V 47, 4–6," *ZPE* 49 (1982) 39–41: this papyrus, which is dated near the end of the second century, already embodies those readings at 5.47.4., exposed as false by the inscription.[16]

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[13] Herwerden: "additamentum plane absurdum est." Rather, "plane absurdum" is the idea of someone using this as a gloss, in order to clarify the grammar! See s.v. in Ch. VIII.

[14] See Powell *CQ* (1938) 75 n. 1, Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 144 n. 5. Neither was aware of Herwerden's conjecture which I here discuss.

[15] LSJ s.v. cites only this instance; Herwerden says, "verbi ὀργᾶν contra omnium scriptorum usum (ex his cf. Dio Cass. 41.56.3 et 47.38.1) usurpatur genus medium." He compares 4.108.6 "formam ὀργώντων scholiasta Cassianus interpretatur per ὡρμημένων." He also compares 5.9.9 ἀκολουθήσατε ἀνδρείως where X (Lugdunensis) has γενδρείως which is a corruption of ἀνδρείως written above γενναίως "quam repperi in codice quem olim contuli Parisiis"; and Soph. *O.T.* 971 where παρόντα arose from παλαιά written above γέροντα.

Denying significance to this variant, Powell (*CQ* [1938] 75 n. 1) points out that "ὀργ- and ὁρμ- are everlastingly permuted, cf. 1.140.1 (recc.), 3.82.1 (recc.), etc." Well, at 1.140.1 ὁρμῇ supralin. c G is plainly a gloss (so that Herwerden could have adduced it); and one suspects the same at 3.82.2 (not 82.1) where ὁρμὰς has replaced ὀργὰς in four or five *deteriores*. (Note also that Powell's larger point here—that *Theta* had no variants—is wrong.)

[16] Not that Galazzi himself is alarmed: like J. de Romilly, he would not emend our text.

I end with a not less striking example. At 7.58.3 παρεχόμενοι, νεοδαμώδεις δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ Εἵλωτας (δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμῶδες ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι), Κορίνθιοι δὲ etc., Jones seems right to bracket the clause. Powell's note reads "ut videtur, non legit Schol., secl. Aem. Port. [Π^{18}]". The scholium reads: νεοδαμώδης· ὁ ἐλεύθερος παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις; and for once, one does feel convinced that he had not our text! P.Oxy. 1376 (2nd–3rd century) has a gap in this place; but this gap according to the edd. is exactly 27 lines long. If we multiply this by the papyrus's average line-length of 19.1 letters,[17] we get a gap of 516 letters. Since here the OCT (counting the suspect clause) has 520 letters (plus 3 subscript iotas), it seems almost certain that this clause—which is 36 letters (or about 2 papyrus lines) long—was present in the papyrus.

Thus, one very dubious authority is pitted against another! But this coarse gloss—"the word νεοδαμῶδες means 'being now free'"—does seem scholium-like, and wrong for this place. One supposes that here, at least, a scholiast reflects a purer tradition than does the papyrus.

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[17] This is the average for the 30 lines immediately before the gap (those after the gap seem too tentatively restored to be used in this way). According to the editors (p. 156) the average for the whole papyrus is "a little over 19" letters per line.

CHAPTER EIGHT

INTERNAL EVIDENCE

"Internal evidence" amounts to one's intuition of what is grammatically, logically or stylistically impossible in Thuc. This criterion of course overlaps with each of the others, so that we have already made constant appeals to it. As a topic, it is uncomfortably vague and vast—also, too often subjective—so that one would gladly do without it altogether. But on the one hand this "evidence" is now and then by itself, without help of other evidence, more perfectly convincing than any other, and these instances (very rare) should be pointed out. And on the other hand, in the name of "internal evidence" the most strangely incautious risks are run even by cautious critics; and of these it seems proper, even at the risk of a certain monotony, to collect a sufficient number of good examples.[1]

I begin—section (1) below—with words that do really seem betrayed by tautology, then pass (2) to similar places, where I think the "internal evidence" inadequate; then (3) to "otiose," gloss-like supplements of comparatives, pronouns, etc.; then (4) to taut constructions that seem spoiled by an "extra" verb inserted by myopic readers; lastly (5) to two places that may seem to have a clause too many.

It need hardly be said that these makeshift, overlapping divisions were not the basis on which I chose my examples of "internal evidence." As in Ch. V on the scholia, they are merely headings given to those specimens that seemed most nearly akin.

(1) *Tautology: certain or almost certain intrusive glosses.* Here most of one's clearest, least merely intuitive judgements involve pure *repetition, where the text appears to say the same thing twice to no purpose whatever.* If the repetition is *verbatim* there may well be interpolation, only quite mechanical in origin (cf. the many examples in Ch. X, and since it

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[1] Of course other specimens of each phenomenon are found elsewhere in this book; into the present chapter comes the overflow, the places condemned by "internal evidence" alone. But here, more than elsewhere, I am conscious of having singled out but a few of the many possible instances of each kind of corruption: see pp. xviii–xix of the Introduction.

is especially frequent in book 8, in Ch. IX).[2] A different kind of repetition occurs where *one of the two expressions, being plainer, seems a gloss to the other.* Of this there are not many certain, pure examples. (I.e. unmixed with other considerations such as MS disagreement, that carry more weight.) A place that comes to mind at once—rightly or not—is 2.43.6 ἀλγεινοτέρα γὰρ ἀνδρί γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἡ μετὰ τοῦ ἐν τῷ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος. Here A B E F M give ἐν τῷ μετὰ τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι, while C and Stobaeus give μετὰ τοῦ ἐν τῷ etc. But which phrase is false? Ἐν τῷ has its partisans: Steup, Alberti and Rusten, all of whom prefer both the sense and the *variatio* of ἐν τῷ μαλακισθῆναι and μετὰ ῥώμης κτλ. (Cf. Valla, *contumelia comes ignaviae.*) Jan Ros (p. 150) seems undecided; for he quotes Steup at length, yet cites the sentence amid examples that could support μετὰ τοῦ. But most editors excise ἐν τῷ as being the likelier gloss, "propter locum 1.6.4, ubi ad verba μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι scholiasta cod. Augustani annotavit: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ γυμνάζεσθαι" (Herwerden; cf. also the gloss at 5.102); and since either reading makes good sense, this consideration, perhaps, should tip the scales.[3]

At 2.10.3 ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς . . . ἀξιολογωτάτους παρῄνει τοιάδε ἔλεξεν, we seem to have in the last word (omitted by Ioann. Sic. *In Hermog.* vi.370.32) not a gloss but a stop-gap. παρῄνει is a conjecture of Sintenis (*Philologus* 1 [1846] 567–9); what the MSS have

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[2] This, perhaps, *is* an "intuition" which it seems as well to confess openly. Thuc. did now and then write clumsily; but I am convinced that not one of the crude verbatim repetitions examined in Ch. X can be attributed to him. (Of course this situation is different when words are repeated formulaically, and for clarity's sake, as in a peace treaty.)

[3] There just might be a trap in this example. The ἔν τῳ of Gottlieb, Abresch and Bekker strikes one as desperate; but the ἐν τῷ <βίῳ> of Chassiotis awakens in me, at least, a doubt whether this so palpable gloss is one. (*Clio*, April 1871. I cannot find this periodical; the reference is given by Croiset who thinks the conjecture merely "ingenious." It is not that merely; it makes the *variatio* denser, since the antithesis is θάνατος.) Finally, it does seem possible (to me as to Hemmerdinger) that the intrusion was purely mechanical (see Ch. X, 4).

In *any* case there is something odd and also something impressive here. It is odd that, although the interpolation is at least as old as early 5th-century (for Stobaeus has it), yet it must have been interlinear in *Theta*: that is strongly implied at least by the fact that *alpha* and *beta* have different word order. (Alberti "Qu. T." I, 36: "l'unica spiegazione possible è perciò che l'errore, una volta disceso nell' archetipo, sia stato successivamente trasmesso da C più fedelmente che da ABEFM": I cannot see that this "explains" anything.) And that an interlinear word, and one so little needed, should be so carefully preserved, seems another of the many hints that the worst corruption is very old (see Ch. XI).

is παρεῖναι, and though Poppo tried to keep both verbs by construing the infinitive with ξυγκαλέσας, the interpolation seems betrayed by the word order. Sintenis scrutinized the introductory words of every speech in Thuc. and found that in 51 of 54 places the verb precedes the demonstrative, e.g. 5.84 ἔλεγε τοιάδε, 5.112 ἀπεκρίναντο τάδε, 6.8 παρῄνει τοῖς 'Αθ. τοιάδε, 6.15 τοῖς 'Αθ. παρῄνει τοιάδε, 6.32 ἔλεγε καὶ παρῄνει τοιάδε. The three exceptions—4.58 τοιούτους δὴ λόγους εἶπεν, 6.67 ὁ Νικίας κατά τε ἔθνη ἐπιπαριὼν ἕκαστα καὶ ξύμπασι τοιάδε παρεκελεύετο, 8.57 σπονδὰς τρίτας τάσδε σπένδεται—seem, somehow, to obey their own stylistic laws that do not apply to our passage.[4]

Indefensible too seems 6.65.1 (re the Athenian *agent provocateur*:) οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Συρ., μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα θαρσεῖν καὶ εἶναι ἐν διανοίᾳ καὶ ἄνευ τούτων ἰέναι παρεσκευάσθαι (παρασκευᾶσθαι C: παρασκευάσασθαι recc.) ἐπὶ Κατάνην, ἐπίστευσάν τε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πολλῷ ἀπερισκεπτότερον (κτλ.)[5]: verbum del. Duker, Poppo, Acacius, Arnold, Bétant, Dobree, Krüger, Böhme, Stahl, Classen, Dover, Romilly, as a gloss to ἑτοιμάσθαι in the preceding sentence or (more probably) to εἶναι ἐν διανοίᾳ. As Dover points out, καὶ before ἄνευ τούτων cries out for interpretation as an adverb, the sentence is tautological, and they in fact were not 'prepared.'[6]

Very unlikely too seems 5.116.1 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Λακεδαιμόνιοι μελλήσαντες ἐς τὴν 'Αργείαν στρατεύειν ὡς αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια ἱερὰ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις οὐκ ἐγίγνετο ἀνεχώρησαν (non vertit Valla; secl. Cobet). The trouble is that elsewhere in classical Greek

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[4] Sintenis ends with the recommendation that we should either "die lesart des cod. F zu hülfe nehmen" and read παρῄνει καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε (as at 6.32 quoted above) or, as he himself prefers, delete ἔλεξε as an "eingeschwärzter erklärung." I cannot find any apparatus that records this reading of F. Recent editors (including even the cautious Alberti) all follow his second suggestion; but as was said above, ἔλεξε seems not an "Erklärung" but a grammatical stop-gap, inserted after the corruption to παρεῖναι. On the corruption itself, which is of a common type, see Marchant, Book 2 p. xxx.

[5] Even here, though I confine the doubt to a footnote, I am not sure there is not some other kind of corruption. "Portus: *cum apparatu profiscisci* [?παρασκευάμενοι, παρασκευῇ, ἐκ παρασκευῆς] Vallam sequutus." Hobbes: The Syracusian commanders, having been also otherwise encouraged, and having intended a preparation to go against Catana though[t] this messenger had not come, did so much the more unadvisedly believe the man, and straightways, being agreed of the day . . ., sent him away.

[6] I confess, I cannot imagine what Jones had in mind when he kept the word, and why Powell has not even a note here. Cf. the possible similar gloss at 1.1.2 discussed in the preceding chapter.

διαβατήρια is not thus spelled out; and it appears unglossed at 5.54.2 and 5.55.3 in a form and in contexts closely similar. Suspect for different reasons is the religious gloss at 5.50.2 ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἤθελον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἴργοντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ θυσίας καὶ ἀγώνων καὶ οἴκοι ἔθυον (secl. Krüger). The genitive is awkward whether one suppose apposition ("prohibited from the temple [and so from] sacrifice and contests") or as gen. of relation ("sie wurden vom Heiligthum rücksichtlich der Opfer ausgeschlossen"—Krüger); and since it is odd to find it in a passage of plain narrative, the information seems taken from 49.1—εἴρχθησαν ὥστε μὴ θύειν μηδ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

(2) *Tautology: doubtful instances.* With the few excisions just discussed we run, at least, small risk of losing either historical facts (however minute) or anything valuably "Thucydidean." This transparency, perhaps, is part of what makes these phrases universally suspect. But I can find few such instances; they are far outnumbered by those of another kind to which I now turn.

1.64.1 τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ [τεῖχος] εὐθὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτειχίσαντες ἐφρούρουν· τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον ἦν . . . 64.2 . . . ἀπετείχισε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης [τεῖχος]: secl. plures edd. seq. Classen (64.1, coll. 3.51.3) et Herw. (64.2) (*St. Th.* p. 13).[7]

For all one knows, each "τεῖχος" might be a gloss; both are excised by most editors including even Alberti; yet the stated objections seem too feeble almost to quote.[8] In 62.6 the defeated allies flee south to the city wall of Potidaea, ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατέφυγον; in 63.1 Aristeus gets into Potidaea by sea; now in 64.1 "The city wall on the north (τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος: the wall one sees looking from the

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[7] Alberti ad loc. cites also Suda α 3593 Adler as omitting the word; but as Tosi points out (*Sc.-fant.* 25), the reference there is probably to the form ἀποτετειχισμένος as at 6.104.1, 7.6.4 etc.

[8] Herw. on 64.2: "qui ludimagister adscripsit substantivum τεῖχος non sensit quam absurde articulus addatur muro quam neque dum exstat neque memoratus est in superioribus." I cannot understand this; Thuc. means the southern *city wall* (seen from Pallene), just as, *pace* Classen, in 64.1 he must mean the northern city wall (seen from the Isthmus).

Classen does not say why he thinks that τεῖχος in 64.1 can scarcely mean the city wall. He seems influenced by the rhythm of the sentence: obviously, the Athenians did not "garrison" the city wall. Τεῖχος is object of the participle, but not of the verb (which is used absolutely: "Having cut off the northern wall with a wall, they set a garrison." Such structure is common in Thuc., e.g. 1.39.1 ἣν . . . προκαλούμενον λέγειν τι δοκεῖν δεῖ—see there Morris for other examples; and see on 4.102.4). Finally, I cannot see that 3.51.3 τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, though Classen and Herwerden adduce it, proves anything here.

isthmus) the Athenians at once cut off with a transverse wall, and set a garrison; but that (sc. τεῖχος)[9] to the South (ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην) was not thus circumvallated," for they lacked enough men to do it; so, in 64.3 it is done by Phormio.

All this is clear; and as Maddalena points out, by "emending" we create trouble. For if in 64.1 we excise τεῖχος, so that the phrase merely refers to the northern part of Potidaea, then 64.1 ἀτείχιστον is not exemplary writing, since it can mean that the city is unwalled (cf. 1.2.2). Only if we keep the paradosis is its true meaning, "not cut off by another wall," immediately clear.

At 3.109.2 κρύφα δὲ Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατήγων Ἀκαρνάνων σπένδονται Μαντινεῦσι (κ.τ.λ.) . . ., βουλόμενος ψιλῶσαι τοὺς Ἀμπρακ. τε καὶ τὸν μισθόφορον ὄχλον <u>τὸν ξενικόν</u>, most editors, including Jones, follow Herwerden in deleting the epithet. But Classen retained it on the grounds that since this military relation was not yet normal, Thuc. may have wished to point to both aspects of it.[10] According to Gomme ad loc. this explanation "will not serve," because the mercenaries are said in 3.100.2 to have been collected from Sparta's allies. It is hard to understand this point. For (A) what, exactly, compels us to assume that the μισθόφορος ὄχλος contains only those allies mentioned in 3.100.2? The only thing that—from the next clause—we know for sure is that neither Λακεδαιμόνιοι nor Πελοποννήσιοι are meant. Then (B) why cannot those Spartan allies themselves be termed ξενικοί? Thuc. might well be speaking not from the Spartan point of view but (via Demosthenes) from that of the Ambraciots. Most basically (C) there is a contradiction in Gomme's reasoning. Who were these Spartan allies? If we take the only ones specified in 3.100.2, we have 500 hoplites from Heraclea in Trachis. Insofar as these are considered to be "Peloponnesians," they belong not to the "mercenary crowd," but to those whom Demosthenes will cause to withdraw from that. But insofar as they are not thought of as "Peloponnesians," but are part of that crowd, they might loosely be termed ξενικοί even from the Spartan point of view. In short, this excision of an epithet

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[9] Another stumbling-block for Classen and those who follow him: they seem simply to miss the brachylogy.

[10] According to Andrewes (*HCT* on the next passage), the word is suspicious because in the third century it became a common synonym for "mercenary." Of course, it may be a gloss. But it seems to me that editors, when they excise it, themselves think of it as a synonym for μισθόφορος; and they forget that Thuc. might use it here precisely because, for him, it was not one.

that might be expressive seems dangerous, since we do not *know* exactly what this "mercenary crowd" consisted of.

Those who excise it point to the same clear "gloss" at 8.25.2: καὶ οἱ μετὰ Χαλκιδέως ἐλθόντες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τι ξενικὸν ἐπικουρικόν, καὶ αὐτὸς Τισσ. παρὼν καὶ ἡ ἵππος αὐτοῦ (κτλ.). But here similar problems arise. As Arnold says, simply, "the word ξενικὸν describes them in relation to Tissaphernes, and not to the historian himself." Thuc., a lover of concision, often fearlessly spends syllables in order to get exactness, or clarity, or merely to emphasize a point (e.g. 7.57.10 ἑκόντας μετὰ μισθοῦ!). On the one hand, we do not know the exact facts here; on the other hand, instead of singling out one victim, one could trim fully half a dozen words from this same phrase and get something more "Thucydidean," e.g. "καὶ μετὰ Τισσ. ἵππος τε καὶ ξενικόν τι."

Still more certainly defensible is 6.97.1 οἱ δὲ Ἀθ. ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς τῇ ἐπιγιγνομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξητάζοντο καὶ ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς . . . σχόντες κατὰ τὸν Λέοντα καλούμενον. As Dover points out (*HCT* ad loc.), in its present form this is worse than pleonastic: it makes nonsense of the narrative. So according to him, Krüger and Herwerden (*Mnem.* 1880, 165), it should all be deleted as a gloss to ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς (καὶ being a later addition). But plainly, no one ever glossed "during this same night" with "on the following day they were being mustered." To get a proper gloss we have to emend a little—just as we must to get a proper text. Madvig inserts <ᾗ> τῇ (κτλ.) and deletes καί,[11] so as to get: "nocte, quam insecuto die (insecutus est dies, quo) Syracusani copiarum recensum fecerunt, iam Athenienses" etc. Dover thinks this "clumsy and verbose;" but it seems more so in English than in Greek or Latin; and at any rate, any clumsiness is less important than the fact that without this we might, indeed, overlook the exact time which here Thuc., more than any glossator, has obvious reasons for spelling out.

I pass now to a somewhat different type of "tautology": that which could be justified by a stress not on facts but on an idea. Thus I think at 8.6.3 ξυνέπρασσε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἐνδίῳ ἐφορεύοντι πατρικὸς [καὶ add. B] ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ξένος ὤν, ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα Λακωνικὸν ἡ οἰκία αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ξενίαν ἔσχεν· Ἔνδιος γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκαλεῖτο. It is true that κατὰ τὴν ξενίαν repeats ὅθεν, so that editors

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[11] Καὶ might also be changed with Classen to ἐκεῖνοι. With the loss of ᾗ by *homoiotes* cf. 4.46.1 κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον <ὃν> ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο κτλ.

excise it as a gloss to that; but Thuc. may have wished to emphasize the fact that names given from this cause are a thing customary in ξενία; i.e. in effect "for which reason, as happens in such cases," etc.

So too 2.48.3 καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἅστινας νομίζει τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἱκανὰς εἶναι [δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν]: secl. Herwerden, Stahl, Classen, Marchant: καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἅστινας νομίζει τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς [ἱκανὰς εἶναι] δύναμιν [ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι] σχεῖν Hude (optime): alii aliter. That the whole passage is very carefully written and this clause verbose, is undeniable. And yet the repetition would not be "purposeless" if Thuc., in his scorn of useless speculations, were here parodying its language. Such *mimesis* is not alien to him (see below, for example, on 1.39); and since much of Greek literature is lost, so that we are ignorant and tone-deaf, deletion here is not in order.[12]

Cautionary, I think, in this regard is 4.126.6 (also mimetic: Brasidas to his troops): γνώσεσθε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄχλοι τοῖς μὲν τὴν πρῶτον ἔφοδον δεξαμένοις ἄπωθεν ἀπειλαῖς τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μελλήσει ἐπικομποῦσιν. Here Badham disliked the accusative and emended to τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρ. μελλήσει, and Rutherford disliked the pleonasm: "ἀπειλαῖς is evidently a gloss upon μελλήσει" (Book 4 p. xxxv). Satisfyingly, both emendations are given the lie by Cassius Dio's similarly "pleonastic" imitation, to which Herwerden drew attention (in *Mnemos.* n.s. 1 [1873] 170) [Dio 39.45.2]: οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς πᾶν τὸ φοβερὸν διὰ κενῆς ἐπικομποῦσιν.[13]

Finally, 2.4.2 τραπόμενοι ἔφυγον διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες οἱ πλείους ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῷ τῶν διόδοων ᾗ χρὴ σωθῆναι, ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν ὥστε διεφθείροντο [οἱ] πολλοί.[14]

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[12] For what I call "useless speculations" see Lucr. 1090 ff.: just the kind of thing Thuc. despises.

Poppo cites what he thinks a similar pleonasm at 6.20.2 where μεταβολῆς seems repeated in μετάστασιν; Romilly thinks the language could be "emphatic." To me the repetition seems too monstrous to be defended thus (nor can I see that Ros p. 150, cited by Alberti, contributes anything); but these reactions are all subjective; and perhaps the best reason for not excising is the simple one of Croiset who observes, rightly, that *none* of this language seems that of a scholiast.

[13] On the basis of this imitation, Hude perhaps rightly emends ἄπωθεν <ἐν> ἀπειλαῖς (the cause of omission being obvious); but for the two datives Graves well enough compares 4.87.2 τῷ . . . εὔνῳ . . . τοῖς χρήμασι. Herw. himself proposed ματαίαις or τηνάλλως for μελλήσει; but this amounts to spitting on his own good luck—since Dio's idiom looks fully as "pleonastic." (Compare also LSJ s.v. διακένης—δ. ἄλλως, μάτην δ.)

[14] Arnold defends οἱ; but οἱ om. cod. A et Valla (*permulti*); and Haack, Poppo, Bekker and Göller delete since from over 300 Thebans who entered, 180 were taken prisoner.

Marchant deletes all the words underlined; Stahl, Herwerden and Hude delete τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν (οὗ ἦν ἐκφεύγειν coni. Schöne), Steup and Romilly only ὥστε διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί, *alii alia*. Jones, Rusten, Alberti rightly preserve the text. If this is one of Thucydides' transient "bold linguistic experiments," one can only say that its results were "positive": *Routed they fled through the city; but being most of them ignorant in darkness and mud of the roads whereby they would be saved, and having pursuers skilful [since these knew the roads well] at forestalling escape, many [or most] perished.* The genitive of τοῦ μὴ ἐκφ. is loose and "overdetermined" like that of τῶν διόδων.[15] It depends easily on ἐμπείρους (LSJ s.v., Smyth 1419) or on διώκοντας ("purpose," Goodwin *GMT* ¶ 798 fin.; or even, conceivably, διώκοντας amounts to a verb of "hindering" as in ibid. ¶ 807) or on both. It is this grammatical looseness and resonance—in which yet the exact meaning is quite clear—that constitutes, for the present writer, the main charm of many passages in Thuc. This reaction is "subjective"; "objective" is the unanimity of the MSS, and the fact that those who excise cannot explain either the "gloss" which they presuppose (after all, what a strange way in which to clarify the grammar!) or the mechanics of intrusion.

(3) *"Otiose" supplements* (of ellipses, comparatives, pronouns etc.) In the last four examples, we have already passed from the downright tautological to that which seems merely "otiose." This topic is plainly too vast to examine here abstractly; and I shall return to it concretely now and then later in this chapter, and in certain sentences discussed in Chapters IX and X. But I would here observe that Jones, Hude and other conservative editors are probably right to resist the strong temptation to excise in several kinds of situation that constantly recur.[16] The first is that of the spelling out of a thing that we could easily understand by ellipse, most frequently with μᾶλλον [ἢ πρότερον]; e.g. 6.30.2 καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ . . . μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐσῄει τὰ δεινὰ ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζοντο πλεῖν· ὅμως δὲ τῇ παρούσῃ ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἑκάστων ὧν ἑώρων τῇ ὄψει ἀνεθάρσουν. If like Cobet you excise the phrase underlined, why stop at that? Τῇ ὄψει also is plainly "otiose,"

[15] That is why he puts ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῷ right in the middle: so that τῶν διόδων will resonate.

[16] The temptation is strong because we know of—and have already analyzed especially in Ch. II—quite certain instances of each of these kinds of corruption. It is enough to recall the E copyist (Ch. II, 1): after all it needs only one such fool—strategically placed—to corrupt a tradition.

nor—if one should really try for compression—is the rest of it beyond suspicion.[17]

A second temptation is given by otiose "explanations" of this or that personal pronoun (cf. the remarks on Rutherford, above Ch. IV), or neuter article used substantively, which the context makes clear enough. But even when, as now and then, the cloven hoofprints of the *magistelli* seem to appear in the grammar, extreme caution is needed still; e.g. 2.19.1 οὕτω δὴ ὁρμήσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταίᾳ <u>τῶν Θηβαίων ἐσελθόντων</u> γενόμενα ἡμέρᾳ ὀγδοηκοστῇ μάλιστα . . . ἐσέβαλον. Classen (followed by Herwerden, Stahl, Croiset, Jones, Romilly, even Alberti) excised this a gloss; i.e. (as Croiset explains it) τὰ τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων = τὰ ἐν Πλαταίᾳ γενόμενα. But since the "information" itself is not otiose—for the whole sentence is slow, sonorous, self-consciously exact—one sympathizes with the attempts of Krüger to keep it. He transposes to ἐσελθόντων τῶν Θηβαίων and takes γενόμενα in apposition to τά. But unpleasant is both the transposition (it seems mechanically unlikely) and the clause consisting of γενόμενα + a genitive absolute! But a plausible uncial corruption, perfect rhythm and better sense, would surely be ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΝ ΠΛΑΤΑΙΑι <ΔΙΑ> ΤΩΝ (etc.): "after the affair in Plataea, which came about through the entrance of the Thebans, on about the eightieth day" etc.[18] At any rate this seems a less violent, also more satisfying, remedy than excision.

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[17] As regards "otiose" supplements to μᾶλλον in particular, see Cobet *Mnemos.* XI (1862) 369–70, for a series of specimens from book 1, castigated in his fresh, charming Latin, e.g. "scripsisset Thuc. [1.72.1] νομίζοντες μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν λόγων πρὸς τὸ ἡσυχάζειν τράπεσθαι, multis post Thucydidem saeculis futilis Graeculus de suo addidit ἢ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν." "Maybe," is all one can say.

[18] Iota adscript might well have been omitted (as e.g. often in P.Oxy. 1376). With διά here (as if causal) compare 6.10.1 οἱ ἐχθροί . . ., οἷς πρῶτον <u>διὰ ξυμφορῶν</u> ἡ ξύμβασις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἰσχίονος ἢ ἡμῖν κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐγένετο. Here the coordination with ἐκ and κατά shows that this is different from such an idiom as διὰ φόβου εἶναι (i.e. we do not supply οὖσι but, as at 2.19.1, the prep. phrase modifies ἐγένετο.) Cf. also 4.30, 5.66.2; also 3.84.1 διὰ πάθους, which means not "in passion" but "on account of their suffering," i.e. of poverty. (On this see Christ, *TAPA* 119 [1989] 141 f.: I agree not with him but with Topitsch cited 141 n. 23. Cf. also Arnold's confused yet interesting note ad loc.) In all these places διά + a verbal noun in the genitive seems used in place of a gen. absolute.

Cf. also Plato *Timaeus* 57c διὰ τούτων αἰτίων γέγονε, also Denniston and Page on Aesch. *Ag.* 448 and the article by Stevens there cited, *CR* 1 [1936] 162 ff. (Of his six instances in Aeschylus, the most closely analogous to Thuc. seems *Choeph.* 656.)

For many examples of the "*ab urbe condita* construction" which I here suppose (i.e. "through the Thebans having entered" for "through the entrance of the Thebans") see Steup's *Anhang* to 4.63.1; cf. also e.g. Antiphon 5.35 τὸν μὲν ἔλεγχον τῆς ἀληθείας

Thirdly, there are many sonorous, somewhat otiose identifications of this type: 7.73.1 Ἑρμοκράτης δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος . . .; 8.29.2 Ἑρμοκράτους δ' ἀντειπόντος τοῦ Συρακοσίου στρατηγοῦ . . . What reader has not felt pangs of doubt about such phrases? It is very hard not to feel, at least at first, shaken by Herwerden when he remarks (on 7.73.1): "additamentum non minus ineptum quam si in hoc libro scriberetur Νικίας vel Λάμαχος vel Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος." But in the vast majority of such instances one can easily imagine a defence; and one remembers also Wyse's remark which I quoted in the introduction, how Cobet and Herwerden excise whatever is not needed by a scholar scrutinizing a text in his study. And since mere intuition, in the case of this heterogeneous text, written in a dead language, is most fallible, self-deceptive and changeable, one had better most often cling to the MSS which are, after all, somewhat less so!

The following instance of putative pleonasm could not easily be grouped with those discussed above, nor with those of a different type that will follow; but though it is somewhat *sui generis*, it well exemplifies the remark just made about the MSS. At 5.65.2 an old soldier has cried out to Agis (ἐπεβόησεν) that he must not try to heal one evil—viz. the name he had got for cowardice—with another—viz. a mad attack in a steep difficult place. Then 5.65.3

> ὁ δὲ [sc. Agis] εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπιβόημα εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλο τι ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δόξαν ἐξαίφνης, πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τάχος πρὶν συμμεῖξαι ἀπῆγεν.
> ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ del. Badham, Dobree: κατὰ in καὶ mutat Campe: ἢ κατὰ τὸ πρότερον αὐτῷ Meineke: ἢ del. Stahl

Now on the one hand, the paradosis is plainly corrupt: I defy anyone to translate it plausibly; that is, to find in it something that Thuc. could have written if he were not a madman, choosing some incredibly tortuous way of saying some extremely simple thing.[19] But because they, too, produce prolix feeble language, all the emendations but Stahl's seem equally impossible. At the same time, the "gloss"

ἀποστέρει δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀπολλυμένου (this is not quite a parallel for causal διά + gen.; for we could suppose it to be—rather wittily—instrumental: by means of the body—viz. by having lost it!—he deprived the truth of its proof).

[19] E.g. Arnold, Jowett say that the Greek means that Agis had some sudden thought "other than what he had had before." But on the one hand, the Greek for this is incredibly crabbed and tortuous (see below on the syntax); on the other, even if one emend with Meineke, the thought itself is otiose. Arnold says that without ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτό, ἄλλο "might otherwise have been supposed to refer, not to the king's original plan, but to the exclamation of the counsellor." But surely, a sane writer would simply say, "or because he himself had changed his mind."

supposed by Dobree and Badham makes the glossator, in turn, seem a madman. (For they suppose that he glosses ἄλλο τι. But first, it is strange that "something else" should need a paraphrase; and secondly, this seems a strange paraphrase for that!) But in Stahl's tiny excision two things trouble one; the first is that—as was said in the summary to the Chapter II—one learns to mistrust opaque relics of lost paraphrases.[20] Secondly, I cannot see why, if he meant this, Thuc. did not more simply write e.g. εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ τοιοῦτόν τι δόξαν. What surely he did write was . . . εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ <ἢ> ἄλλο τι ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δόξαν (κτλ.).[21] This explains the emphasis—the elaborate demarcation—of the repeated εἴτε καὶ. There are two antitheses, one within another. Agis retreated either (A) by the other's prompting or (B) by his own; if the latter, then either (B 1) he had some different reason (unknown to Thuc.), or (B 2) he had some such thought (as the old soldier's). All this is subtle, dense and clear.

If this is right, there are several things particularly worthy of note here. Note (a) the minuteness of the corruption that caused such endless trouble; but also (b) how faithful many generations of copyists were: for at any time in those centuries someone might have "emended" lightly as Stahl, or interpolated as Meineke, or made the same arrogant excision as Dobree and Badham (i.e., as those who least trust them!); then (c) how only part of our trouble was caused by a corrupt text. The rest was self-imposed, caused in part by our too extreme mistrust of the copyists; in part by a mistake about that which is, and is not, Thucydidean. Uncharacteristic of him is a grammatical monstrosity that contributes nothing to the meaning. But Thucydidean, on the one hand, is the rather arcane *variatio* of an internal accusative versus a prepositional phrase (for examples, see

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As regards the syntax, most commentators do not discuss it, as if it were self-evident. Poppo refers to Matthiae ¶ 464; there δόξαν is called a "nom. absolute" that has a personal construction and has ἄλλο τι as its "subject." Matthiae gives no good parallel for this bizarre construction. Lit: "something other than according to the same thing occurred to him"!!

I suppose that δόξαν is an acc. absolute (or that we supply again διὰ τὸ); and that ἄλλο τι is internal acc. with δόξαν which is used impersonally (on the meaning see below).

[20] Stahl puts it differently; he says that ἢ "interpretandi causa ad κατὰ adscriptum videtur"—i.e. (?) it is the opaque little private "fulcrum" of some utterly lost reader.

[21] Cf. Newman's edition of the *Politics*, III p. viii: Π¹ [i.e. MSS derived from one of the two hyparchetypes] are particularly prone to omit ἤ, καί and the article where these small words are repeated near together"; of ἤ omitted he finds five instances.

below on 4.63.1), and on the other hand, the scrupulous exactness of the doubt about why Agis retreated. Thuc. knows something of what happened, so that we get the vivid, concrete image of the old man calling out: but for Thuc. (perhaps, as one senses, because he was interested in Agis) that does not quite suffice.

(4)–(5) *"Thucydidean" idioms of sentence construction.* The last example anticipates, to some extent, what now follows. Throughout the remainder of this chapter, I shall make constant reference to certain quiddities (as I see them) of Thucydidean *Kunstprosa.* What most of the remaining twelve examples have in common, is that they are typically Thucydidean "periods," organized with an elaborateness and subtlety that either copyists or modern readers miss. Other striking examples of this are discussed in Ch. X; I here discuss only such places as have been suspected on "internal" grounds alone.

(4) *Clauses that have (or seem to have) 'extra' verbs.* I.e. in each of these ten places is an unneeded verb which, to some editors at least, has seemed most plausibly explained as having been inserted by a reader who could not see the structure. Of course, as was seen in the typology of Chapter I, such a grammatical stop-gap can be any part of speech;[22] I here isolate the verbs because it is in them that the phenomenon tends to be clearest. I proceed from instances in which it seems certain (1.58.1, 2.13.4) or almost certain (1.58.1) to the more and more doubtful: ending with those in which, since the "fulcrum" seems unintelligible, one would have to suppose that the verb is a relic of a longer gloss.

For comparison's sake I begin with a list of such verbs; it is confined to such as seem inserted probably from this cause.[23] I list only places discussed in this book, either in this chapter or elsewhere[24]:

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[22] "Tibicines," "fulcra," as they are termed by Cobet, who finds them by the dozen sometimes on every page. His demand for compression and *concinnity* in Thuc. is relentless. His hatred of useless syllables is such that, often, he imagines the copyists and correctors not as "short-sighted," but as half malicious.

[23] Mechanically interpolated (by dittography, or omission and wrong reinsertion) seem 2.78.1 καταλιπόντες (in all MSS); 8.66.3 αὐτοὶ ἐξευρεῖν (EFABM G1), 8.71.1 οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν: on these and other places see in Ch. X. I ignore places where I think the hypothesis quite certainly false; e.g. Stahl's excision at 8.68.2, ἐκακοῦτο.

[24] One could add 1.91.5 ἔφασαν—but this might either be sound or a mechanical corruption (thus E.A. Thompson, *Hermathena* 56 [1940] 145)—and to my taste, not one alternative is really attractive. Also 8.27.2 ὅπου γὰρ <u>ἔξεστιν</u> (del. Dobree) ἐν ὑστέρῳ σαφῶς εἰδότας πρὸς ὁπόσας τε ναῦς πολεμίας καὶ ὅσαις πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς σφετέραις ἱκανῶς καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν παρασκευασμένοις <u>ἔσται</u> (secl. Krüger: ἐξέσται B) ἀγωνίσασθαι, οὐδέποτε

1.11.2 εἶλον (interpolated in all MSS: see below); 1.58.1 ἔπρασσον (ditto); 1.128.3 βουλόμενος (add. CG); 1.134.4 εἰώθεσαν (add. CGFB, after prior corruption); 2.10.3 ἔλεξεν (in all MSS: again after prior corruption); 2.13.4 ἦν (in all MSS: see below); 2.78.1 τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀφέντες (add. CGME: prior corruption); 3.52.2 ἦν (in all MSS); 7.69.2 ἦν (add. B);[25] 7.70.2 ἦν (add. B); 8.89.3 ἔπεμπον (in all MSS); 8.91.1 διεθρόουν (add. CGE[26]); 8.109 ἀπώσηται (add. M et, in mg., f g a; from *Phi* scholium). (Note also the verbs interpolated in M after prior corruption at 8.42.3, 4.104.3: see Appendix I list 2.)

More doubtful instances: 2.16.1 μετεῖχον (om. Valla); 2.42.4 ἡγησάμενοι (om. Valla); 6.39.2 ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε (in all MSS: see below); 7.69.2 εἴποιεν ἄν (in all MSS, and I incline to reject it: see below); 8.68.2 φαίνεται (in all MSS: see Ch. IX). (In such places intrusion is uncertain, either because it seems unmotivated—2.42, 2.16.1—or because the paradosis can be interpreted as sound; yet in each place one can well imagine someone wanting a verb, and excision does at least improve the present text.)

At 1.58.1 Poppo, whom other editors have followed, is indubitably right to bracket ἔπρασσον given by all the codd., since this verb which spoils a clear and perfect "period" seems inserted by someone who could not see far enough ahead to ἀφίστανται. For clarity's sake I merely paraphrase this majestic sentence, ignoring *variatio*: "But the Potideians, having (μὲν) sent to Athens [,ʼΕΠΡΑΣΣΟΝ] in order to . . . (etc., etc.), and having (δὲ) gone to Sparta in order to . . . (etc., etc.), when (τε) they had failed at Athens . . . and (καὶ) succeeded at Sparta . . ., now (τότε δὴ) revolted . . ." This specimen I think precious, both for its certainty and for its grossness.[27]

Duller but almost as clear seems 2.13.4 θαρσεῖν τε ἐκέλευε προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων . . ., ὑπαρχόντων δὲ . . . ἑξασχιλίων

τῷ αἰσχρῷ ὀνείδει εἴξας ἀλόγως διακινδυνεύσειν. By deleting we get a good, taut ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction; by keeping the text we have pleonasm whether, as Arnold, we understand ἀγωνίσασθαι twice or whether—as apparently the scholiast who wrote ἔσται ἀγωνίσασθαι· τὸ ἔσται περιττόν—we assume what does seem possible, that Thuc. forgot the beginning of the sentence.

[25] See below. Similar to this is ἦν at 2.48.3 (deleted by Hude), also F's insertion of ἦσαν at 2.9.4.

[26] See in Ch. II (3): the addition might, perhaps, have been dittography.

[27] As usual, Cobet here (*Mnemos.* XI [1862] 369) goes farther; he praises the excision, then adds: "sed non erat satis ineptum verbum ἔπρασσον expungere et parcere turpi additamento in verbis τότε δὴ [κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον] ἀφίστανται." I too have always found this phrase suspect, as perhaps many others have; but suspicion is not conviction.

ταλάντων . . ., χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου . . ., οὐκ ἐλάσσονος [ἦν om recc.: secl. Abresch] ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων.[28]

I accept this instance too, though it is controversial:

> 1.11.2 περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι ἄνευ λῃστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες [εἷλον del. Krüger] (οἵ γε καὶ οὐχ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ μέρει τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων ἀντεῖχον)· πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν (δὲ Pd: ἂν del. Parry) προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλασσονί τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἷλον.

Jones prints the word and Romilly, at least, appears to see no problem (she has not even a note); but as Maddalena says, we have a single protasis followed by two apodoses—which look like alternatives, and which are separated by δέ. The difficulty becomes impossible to evade as soon as one attempts an honest translation:

> "If they had come with sufficient provisions and, not farming or pirating, had made continuous war in a body, these men, who even disunited and with only part of their force had been equal to the Trojans, would have taken (the city) easily by their superiority in the field [*not 'by winning a battle'*: κρατοῦντες, *not* κρατήσαντες]; but by settling into a regular siege they would have taken Troy with less time and trouble."

The problem cannot be erased by punctuation or by supposing (as Classen seems to) some sort of brachylogy.[29] But how to emend?[30]

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[28] That ἦν is omitted in the recc. could be due to emendation. Also, there is a possible trap in this little example. Marchant follows Dobree in reading οὐκ ἔλασσον [ος ἦν] (with the acc. cp. 4.72.1, 6.95.1) and his explanation, though I doubt its truth, seems just worth recording; for he thinks that "ος ἦν is ὅσ' ἦν, i.e. ἦν is a gloss, now misplaced, on ὅσα above."

[29] Classen keeps the word and renders: "If the Greeks had come to Troy with sufficient provisions and made war united without interruption, they would easily have taken the city by a battle in the field, given that in spite of the division in their forces, they held the field against so many forces whenever they found themselves in front of the city, and given that if, even divided, they had made a regular siege, they would have taken the city with less time and trouble." The fatal objection to this is that, as Maddalena says, it needs κρατήσαντες, not κρατοῦντες.

E.A. Thomson, *Hermathena* 56 (1940) 140–1: "The only difficulty which I can see in this notorious crux is the use of δέ = 'or.'" (He notes that Denniston's only examples of this at *GP* 171 are from poetry.) He proposes δ' ἂν ⟨καὶ⟩ or δὲ κἂν: "If they had only been able to bring all their forces to bear at once, 'they would easily have taken Troy by defeating the Trojans in battle . . . And even, καί, if they had had to besiege the city (which in actual fact was the case), the siege would have been shorter and less troublesome.' The repetition εἷλον . . . εἷλον marks off the two alternatives clearly." But (a) as Gomme and Parry note, Thuc. is not thinking of alternatives, but of the two stages needed in taking a city (viz. superiority in the field, then a siege); and (b) improbably ugly, still, is this method of "marking off the alternatives" by a crude repetition, which Thompson naturally avoids in his paraphrase.

[30] Maddalena thinks everything pure till ἀντεῖχον; the rest is the second half of

Εἷλον was deleted by Krüger who also (followed by Jones and others) changed δ' to τε. But δ' is retained by others who would delete—viz. Stahl, Croiset, Gomme, Alberti, Tosi and Bruno Zucchelli (*Rend.Ist.Lomb.* 97 [1963] 434–5) and Adam Parry (*AJP* 79 [1958] 383 ff.). For one thing, *that* was probably the word which caused the little *fulcrum* to be inserted. Secondly, as Parry says, "The δέ in fact is needed . . . It is the δέ which complicates or divides a subordinate clause or phrase, in particular the protasis of a conditional sentence. There is a parallel [at 1.10.2]: Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, λειφθείη δὲ τά τε ἱερὰ . . . τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν (κτλ.)" In fact Hude, disturbed by this at 1.10.2, inserted Λακεδαιμονίων <μέν> γὰρ (κτλ.). Parry, who notes that Denniston ignores this idiom, offers no other examples; but one finds them precisely in Oeltze's monograph on μέν and δέ, pp. 55 ff., "de particula δέ non praecedente μέν," especially p. 57: "Duo ex alio pendentia enuntiata, quorum unum verbum alterius uni oppositum est, sic per δέ copulata sunt III 102,5 δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν μὴ μεγάλου ὄντος τοῦ τείχους, ὀλίγων δὲ τῶν ἀμυνομένων, I 10, 2 . . ., 1.86.1 καίτοι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ τότε, πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς κακοὶ νῦν." etc. This analogy I think adequate; for plainly thus contrasted in our sentence are μάχῃ κρατοῦντες, πολιορκίᾳ δὲ προσκαθεζόμενοι. They are separated only by the explanatory clause; and such an intervening clause is often itself the cause of this phenomenon.[31]

In those three places the "fulcrum" seems, fairly certainly, convicted by "internal evidence" alone. I would myself add one other instance. I here underline elements that I think connected grammatically as well as logically:

> 7.69.2 . . . ἄλλα τε λέγων, ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἤδη τοῦ καιροῦ ὄντος ἄνθρωποι, <u>οὐ</u> πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν τινὶ ἀρχαιολογεῖν <u>φυλαξάμενοι</u> [?εἴποιεν ἄν], καὶ ὑπὲρ

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some marginal gloss. Here, I would not scoff at this; but as always, I think it a refuge of last resort. Very different, for example, is 8.68.2, discussed in Ch. II (11) ad fin.: there the intrusive clause showed worse than clumsy syntax: it showed also impossible language, disagreement between hypearchetypes, and a paraphrase that was, qua paraphrase, intelligible: here, we have none of this.

[31] For examples see Oeltze loc. cit. This way of seeing the thing, as if μέν were "omitted," seems simpler and better than that of Zuchelli (loc. cit.) who sees the one participle as "comitative," the other as "instrumental." Doubtfully analogous too are such places as 7.33.2, 8.29.2 adduced by Croiset and others, where δέ seems to oppose a parenthesis.

ἁπάντων παραπλήσια ἔς τε γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ θεοὺς πατρῴους προ(σ)φερόμενα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἐκπλήξει ὠφέλιμα νομίζοντες, ἐπιβοῶνται.

ὄντος omnes codd., etiam recc.: ὄντες B et edd. || εἴποιεν ἂν del. Badham qui conj. καίπερ ὑφ' ἁπάντων

To take first the minor matter of ὄντος: here editors follow B; but I think this a typical bit of officiousness by a B corrector (cf. above, Ch. II, 6 on B[II] interpolations), and that no one has grasped the prodigious symmetry of this sentence as a whole.[32] The sentence forms a ring, such that the clauses on the ends, ὁ δὲ Νικίας . . . εἰρῆσθαι and ἄλλα τε . . . ἐπιβοῶνται correspond both in general and in details. In particular, ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ ὁρῶν οἷος ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς ἤδη [ἦν add. B][33] is answered by ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, ἤδη τοῦ καιροῦ ὄντος . . . ἐκπλήξει: "what sort of danger, and how near already" versus "in this sort of situation, when the crisis is already upon them." With the B "correction," they cease to be differentiated. This is but a nuance, nor is it certain; but it was partly for its sake that I chose this example: in order to illustrate at once the extreme subtlety and exactness of the σχήματα (as one might call them) by which Thucydides coordinates the far-flung parts of large periods.[34]

As regards the second point, it is surely hard not to feel, as Badham, that ὅσα is internal acc. with ἐπιβοῶνται (as e.g. at 3.59.2); and that a near-sighted reader unable to see to the end, and deceived also by the adverbial καὶ which means "even though," inserted the verb. Editors discuss the grammar endlessly; they have not followed Badham because—I think by mere chance—the corrupted sentence, in which

[32] It is one of the greatest, most truly beautiful periods in Thuc., but too long and complex to diagram in this place. In this discussion I confine myself to points bearing directly on the two (as I see them) interpolations.

[33] Note that this interpolation—a verb inserted in a subordinate clause that needs none—is of just the same kind as that which I posit.

[34] This phenomenon—which has never I think been properly studied—is of course too vast to discuss here abstractly. It requires a separate dissertation, and I here confine myself to showing concrete instances of it. (See especially on 8.71.1 in Ch. IX, and the references there). Of course, this or that somewhat fantastic specimen of chiasmus or interlacing, this or that bold *variatio*, might always be a mirage, seen only by the scholar predisposed to see it. But often in Thuc. the thing is palpably intended, and not to see it is fatal. For example, the famous chiasmus at 1.22.1–3, contrasting speeches with actions, has never to this day been understood in all six of its parts, though this affects the meaning; and the same is so in other places.

the formal pattern conflicts with the grammatical, has a beauty of its own.[35]

When the scales seem balanced evenly, one should not emend; but what I think *tips* them is the palpable fact, admitted by everyone, that the clauses οὐ . . . ἀλλά are a detailed antithesis.

Still—because Thuc. does tolerate such tension between grammar and logic—I cannot press the point. Also uncertain in spite of its many, quite convinced adherents, is the excision at 6.39.2 by Madwig of ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε. The strong temptation to excise is very great, but weakened by certain complications, both in the dramatic situation and in the grammar. To save space, I betray in advance my defense of this phrase, by labelling the phrases with letters in parenthesis so as to show what might be a rather daring chiasmus; I then quote from the notes first of Madvig (*Adv. Crit.* I ad loc.), then of Arnold:

> ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ὦ πάντων ἀξυνετώτατοι,—(A) εἰ μὴ μανθάνετε κακὰ σπεύδοντες (B) ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε (C) ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ἑλλήνων (B) ἢ ἀδικώτατοι (A) εἰ εἰδότες τολμᾶτε,—ἀλλ' ἤτοι μαθόντες γε ἢ μεταγνόντες τὸ τῆς πόλεως ξύμπασι κοινὸν αὔξετε (etc.) [*Normal, non-chiastic order would be C B A B A, etc. (for more on this see below).*]

> Ineptissime inter hanc partitionem cum adjecta condicione: ἀξυνετώτατοι, εἰ μὴ . . . ἢ ἀδικώτατοι, εἰ . . ., interponitur ἢ ἀμαθέστατοι, plane idem significans quod ἀξυνατώτατοι. non minus prave ἐστε. nam illa ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν (at vel nunc saltem) aperte ad sequentem imperativum pertinent, repetito ob plura interposita . . . et perverse ab eo divellitur.[36]

> No one, I think, can doubt that such [ἀλλ' ἤτοι] is the true apodosis of the sentence; the ἀλλά being repeated after the intermediate matter. . . . But whether ἐστε be an interpolation of the copyists, as Dobree conjectured, truly remarking, "voculas interferecire solent librarii ad constructiones fulciendas," is not so easy to determine . . . [*He translates:*] "but even now, after all that has passed, ye most unwise of all men—(ye are surely either the stupidest of mankind, if ye are not aware of the mischief of your designs; or the most wicked, if you dare to commit such crimes with your eyes open—) but even now ye may be taught better" [etc.]

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[35] But even if we choose to keep the paradosis, καὶ still seems to me adverbial; for the "things adduced for every cause" are not *distinct* from "what men say in crises like this."

[36] Cf. Cobet (*Var. lect.* 454) who made the same excisions (but excised also ἀλλ'): "praeclarum locum fatuis additamentis Graeculi contaminaverunt sed abstersis sordibus sana erunt omnia." As often, Cobet (writing here two years later) was unaware that Madvig had already published this conjecture—a thing that used to anger Madvig (cf. Jensen, *J.N. Madvig* p. 136). One suspects that he was simply too lazy to read him, and preferred reading Thuc.

Madwig, Dobree, Arnold seem right beyond doubt about the particles.[37] The full stop that Jones puts after τολμᾶτε is wrong even if one keep ἐστε, because ἔτι καὶ νῦν does point "aperte ad sequentem imperativum." But as Arnold saw, this does not necessitate the excision of ἐστε. Such abrupt changes of direction, brought about by what amounts to an emphatic, overgrown parenthesis, occur elsewhere in Thuc., always in speeches. Usually, editors are taken aback by a steep asyndeton. Thus e.g. 4.10.3 where all MSS (except that of Dion. Hal. whom editors follow) omit ὃ after νομίζω; thus also 3.36.2 where Classen was wrong to add καὶ before ὅτι; also 3.63.2 ἱκανή γε (κ.τ.λ.); also 3.37.2 where it seems wrong either to insert οἵ with B or to emend to ἄκοντες ἀρχόμενοι <ὡς> οὐκ with Stahl (on this, and on some of the other examples, see the good discussion of Smith, Book 3 pp. 285–6). Compare also the next example below (3.47.5). That these instances all occur in speeches does not seem coincidental; it suggests that Thucydides' text has been at times subtly banalized not by copyists but by editors and that he can, on occasion, be more boldly mimetic and expressive than we are wont to imagine.[38] Here at 6.39.2 the jerkiness and the pleonasm suggest that the speaker—whom Thuc. perhaps did not esteem!—is a little out of control; nor is it strange that this should coincide with a certain chiastic elegance (i.e., that to which I pointed in the way I printed the period). The hyperbaton of ἢ is nothing impossible for Thuc. (cf. 3.45.2; 6.24.1). In view of all this, Arnold's translation may be close to the truth.

> 3.47.5 καὶ τοῦτο πολλῷ ξυμφορώτερον ἡγοῦμαι . . ., ἑκόντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικηθῆναι ἢ δικαίως οὓς μὴ δεῖ διαφθεῖραι. καὶ τὸ Κλέωνος, τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον τῆς τιμωρίας, οὐχ εὑρίσκεται ἐν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν ὂν ἅμα γίγνεσθαι.

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[37] Cf. also Dover, *HCT* ad loc.: he is inclined to adopt a conjecture of Gomme, inserting εἰ <γὰρ> μὴ (κτλ.), and for the resumptive ἀλλ' ἤτοι he adduces very good parallels. In what follows I try to defend the text without recourse to this conjecture (for one thing, there is no apparent cause of omission); but it would be in any case better than deletion. (Also, more accurate than Arnold's "even now, after all that has passed" is Dover's "now, when you see the futility of your designs.")

[38] No doubt, it would be wrong to make a kind of "rule" out of this; but the standard of concinnity does seem stricter, and emendation less utterly hazardous, when Thuc. is speaking in *propria persona.*

Perhaps too, it is not pure coincidence that four of the six instances just cited occur in the debates of book 3; for Thucydides' "bold linguistic experiments" (as Andrewes phrased it) tend to be temporary. Apropos of the present passage, Steup also cites 1.62.2, 1.132.2: but there I see nothing remarkable.

ἐν ταὐτῷ Badham (cf. Hobbes: "And that same both justice and profit of revenge, alleged by Cleon, can never possibly be found together in the same thing"): ἐν ... γίγνεσθαι according to Steup is either simply "pleonastic" or, perhaps, an interpolation, a supplement to οὐχ εὑρ. which in fact was meant absolutely, "is not found."

The change of direction does seem abrupt. But ἐν αὐτῷ must mean ἐν τῷ διαφθεῖραι αὐτούς; Hobbes/Badham cannot be right since, as Smith points out, right and advantage might often be combined. And gross tautology seems improbable, at a climactic moment of a speech so artful; and the putative gloss would be abnormally long and clumsy. Most probably, there is simple anacolouthon by which (just as in the preceding sentence, where the infinitive clauses explain τοῦτο) Thuc. mimes the vehemence of living speech: "And Cleon's point about right and advantage being the same—plainly in this [i.e. in killing those whom you must not kill] the two things cannot possibly coexist."

With this last example, we have moved away from those "otiose" verbs that could really, plausibly be thought *fulcra* into those that must rather be imagined as remnants of lost glosses; i.e., those that, in the supposed attempt to alleviate a difficulty, themselves make the Greek difficult. It is probably not by coincidence that in all these places, the paradosis seems sound.

The next four examples all involve κινδυνεύω: a verb of which Thuc. was extremely fond, and which he uses in every possible way; and since one of its idioms seems somewhat misunderstood I here begin by explaining it. In two of these passages some editors have tried to take κινδυνεύειν as in LSJ s.v. I.4.b, "to express chance, i.e. what may possibly or probably happen." (Thus e.g. Steup on 4.117.2, and Herwerden there: "in aleam venire (kans hebben) ut etiam vincerent, si l. s.") Now that chiefly Platonic idiom does not seem to occur in Thuc.; for in him always very plainly the sense of actual danger is present. But historically, one suspects, that later idiom arose out of a "personal for impersonal" idiom that does occur in Thuc.; most unmistakably at 8.91.1 φάσκων κινδυνεύσειν τὸ τεῖχος τοῦτο καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαφθεῖραι: "this fort will be a danger to (*not 'will be likely to'*) destroy the very city"; or in better English, "there is a danger that this fort" etc. It seems strange that the first two of the sentences which I now discuss have never been understood in the light of this. But in the first the meaning also has been hidden by a misdivision of words in the MSS, and by extreme subtlety, typically Thucydidean, in the grammatical *variatio*:

6.87.4 . . . διὰ τὸ ἑτοίμην ἐλπίδα τῷ μὲν ἄν τι τυχεῖν ἐπικουρίας ἀφ' ἡμῶν, τῷ δὲ εἰ ἤξομεν μὴ ἀδεεῖς εἶναι κινδυνεύειν.

ἄν τι τυχεῖν J: ἄν τυχεῖν H (conj. Herw.): ἀντιτυχεῖν cett. ἀδεεῖς] ἀδεεῖ Valckenaer, OCT: μὴ ἀδεὲς εἶναι [κινδυνεύειν] Herw., Stahl (ἀδεὲς etiam Reiske, Dobree). ("μὴ ἀδεὲς εἶναι verborum interpretamentum κινδυνεύειν esse puto cuius abundantia ad explicandum molestissima est"—Stahl; cf. Krüger, "κινδυνεύειν könnte wohl ein Glossem sein")

This well illustrates both the penetration and the rashness of modern criticism. Satisfyingly, Herwerden's conjecture of ἄν has been confirmed by the *recentiores*;[39] yet ἀδεεῖς is sound. The subject is the Athenians: "*we are a danger to be not unformidable*" (i.e. 'there is a danger that we' etc.: pers. for impers. const. as explained above).

Thus there is none of the "pleonasm" that editors have seen in this, and the oddities, as it were, explain one another. What readers have missed, apart from the idiom with the verb, is the *variatio*. Εἰ ἤξομεν varies ἀφ' ἡμῶν, κινδυνεύειν varies ἄν (mere possibility: mere danger[40]) and μὴ ἀ- varies τι (understatement: for another instance of this same variation, cf. 5.111.1). The extreme preciosity of this is in keeping with the elaborate, asymmetrical symmetry of the whole sentence.

4.117.2 τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ἄνδρας περὶ πλέονος ἐποιοῦντο κομίσασθαι, ὡς ἔτι Βρασίδας ηὐτύχει· καὶ ἔμελλον ἐπὶ μεῖζον χωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν στέρεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ ὅσου ἀμυνόμενοι κινδυνεύσειν [-εύειν E F A B] καὶ κρατήσειν.

κινδυνεύσειν secl. Böhme, Krüger, Steup: κρατήσεσθαι Poppo: εἰ καὶ κρατήσειαν Madvig: alii alia

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[39] The collocation ἄν τι is common, e.g. 1.21.1, 2.48.3, 5.111.1 (there, as here, the understatement of τι is "varied" by a double negative in the next clause), 2.11.9, 2.43.1, 6.55.1, 7.48.3.

Herwerden's conjecture was made for grammatical reasons; see *Stud. Thuc.*, "addenda et corrigenda," pp. 139–140: "*sperandi* verba non admittere in oratione pedestri *nudum Infinitivum Aoristi* nullus dubito." The question of course has been much disputed; cf. Goodwin GMT ¶ 127. Herwerden attempts always to imagine the paleographical error; and his discussion here, as he emends various passages, is still worth reading attentively. I think it *possible* that he is right to emend these passages. In Young's list of errors in Pindar MSS (*GRBS* 6 [1965] 253) he notices one omission of ἄν, three of κεν; Wyse supposes a dozen instances in Isaeus MSS (Wyse p. xxxvi). In Thuc. MSS the corruption is common; e.g. 6.40 καὶ: κἂν H^2, Herwerden.

[40] Cf. 8.89.3 (q.v.) ἀπαλλαξείειν, a closely similar kind of *variatio*: mere desire (represented by this "desiderative infix") versus obligation (χρῆναι). Such antitheses are too subtle, too asymmetrical, to be categorized by Ros; but that Thuc. did often make them I think certain.

This sentence has long been a notorious crux. But as Herwerden says, "dicta e mente Atheniensium" (thus also Classen, Herbst; and this negates Steup's objection, "aber eine Chance für den endlichen Sieg konnte nach dem ganzen Zusammenhang hier den Lakk. unmöglich zugesprochen werden." On this see also below). Having already described Spartan motives for wanting the truce, Thuc. now explains why the Athenians want it. They feel that now, when Brasidas is faring well,[41] it is the captives that the Spartans are particularly eager to recover. But that if Brasidas should fare even better and restore military equality, the Spartans would, to be sure, remain without those captives; but by fighting back with the others, now on terms of equality with the Ath., *they would be a danger even to get the upper hand*; i.e. 'there would be a danger that they' etc. (The reason *why* personal for impersonal construction here is obvious: it was precipitated by the personal construction with ἔμελλον.)

There are two main reasons why editors have had endless trouble here. The first is the mistake (described above) with κινδυνεύειν; the second is the tortuousness of the reasoning: Thuc., having analyzed (μέν) Athenian motives, then (δέ) Spartan motives, now analyzes the Athenian analysis of Spartan motives. But for a similarly tortuous analysis of motives (which happens also to have given trouble) see below on 4.73.4. And perhaps lastly—though in less degree, since after all the phenomenon is frequent in Thuc.—trouble has come from the fact that the μέν clause is "concessive."[42]

> 4.73.4 (Ath. generals would not join battle:) λογιζόμενοι . . . μὴ ἀντίπαλον εἶναι σφίσι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ πλείω αὐτοῖς προυκεχωρήκειν, ἄρξασι

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[41] Cf. Graves ad loc.: "Herbst [Philol. 16 (1860) 312 ff.] and Classen attach particular force to ὡς ἔτι Βρ. ηὐτύχει, to which they give the meaning 'with his present limit of success,' i.e. before his conquests gave the Spartans an overwhelming advantage." This perhaps lays too heavy a weight on ὡς!—and does not seem really necessary.

[42] For concessive μέν (or in other words, for places where only the δέ clause matters to the argument) see e.g. 2.37.1, 3.34.3, 3.66.2, 3.94.4, 4.13.1, 4.92.2, 5.10.9 (the clause re Cleon: thus τε is sound, *pace* most edd.), 5.72.3–4, 6.34.9, 7.44.1 (bis, one within another!). At 3.34.3 and 4.80.4 the "concession" extends not only to the sense but even into the grammar, resulting in "anacolouthon." See also Oeltze 11–16.

Jowett (& cf. Graves) suspects the antithesis to be, "they would remain deprived of them, even though they might prove victorious." This is certainly wrong (e.g. it demands the later use of κινδυνεύω), even though for the "concessive δέ" which he posits there are parallels better than his 2.42.4; e.g. 2.44.1 (ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης), 3.43.1 (κέρδους μὲν ἕνεκα, τὰ βέλτιστα δ' ὅμως), 4.10.3 (ὑποχωρήσασι δέ), and (somewhat differently) 7.57.4 (ὑπήκοοι δέ).

μάχης πρὸς πλείονας αὐτῶν ἢ λαβεῖν νικήσαντας Μέγαρα ἢ σφαλέντας τῷ βελτίστῳ τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ βλαφθῆναι, τοῖς δὲ ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν παρόντων μέρος ἕκαστον κινδυνεύειν εἰκότως ἐθέλειν τολμᾶν.

"τοῖς δὲ . . . τολμᾶν verba desperata quibus parum profuerunt criticorum tentamina. Kr. expungit κινδυνεύειν. Cl. cit. τοὺς δ' et ἑκάστων. Stahl ed. τοὺς δὲ ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως μέρος ἕκαστον κινδυνεύειν καὶ (ἐκ) τῶν παρόντων εἰκότως ἐθέλειν τολμᾶν. ego Mnem. I p. 88 conieci τοῖς δὲ ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως κινδυνευούσης καὶ (etiam) τῶν παρόντων μέρος ἕκαστον εἰκότως ἐθέλειν τολμᾶν, quod etiam nunc praefero"—Herwerden. καὶ τῶν παρόντων μέρος] αὐτῶν παρόντος μέρους Hude οἷς . . . κινδυνεύει Madvig[43]

Those who, perhaps rightly, keep the MS text tend to mistranslate it, "*while on the side of the enemy, each separate part of his whole force and of those now present (under Brasidas) would be reasonably willing to dare to run the risk*"—so that μέρος is subject of all the infinitives. This cannot be right, because it makes one of the infinitives pleonastic; for we should lose nothing if κινδυν. came at the end and ἐθέλειν τολμᾶν were omitted ("each part . . . would reasonably run the risk"). Instead κινδυνεύειν—which here means not "run the risk" but "be at risk," "be in mortal danger"—has a different subject and is not "complementary" to τολμᾶν in the way that that is to ἐθέλειν, but epexegetical of it (as if we understood τοῦτο, or ὥστε): ". . . *while as regards the enemy, that this or that (mere) part of his overall force, and of his forces now present, should be at risk—(this) he would reasonably be willing to dare.* As Jowett says, we can easily supply a subject for ἐθέλειν from τοῖς δὲ, which is dative of interest either with κινδυνεύειν or with the whole clause—no matter.

Note, too, that this honors the rhythm and word order better (ξυμπάσης . . . κινδυνεύειν go together), and also makes much better sense. For in the usual construing we get, not Brasidas mortally endangering this or that allied contingent, but this or that contingent risking itself—a thing less plainly "reasonable," and less plainly

[43] The last is the neatest of these changes. But as Madvig (blaming Thuc.) himself admits, it leaves the thought blurred. I doubt if we need emend at all (see below); but better than Madvig's change, since it would explain the dative exactly, would be *οἷς* δὲ ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν παρόντων μέρος ἕκαστου κινδυνεύε<u>ται</u>, εἰκότως ἐθέλειν τολμᾶν. (Compare 2.43.5 οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἔτι κινδυνεύεται; also Dion. Hal. Ant. p. 381.7 (cited by Poppo): τῇ πόλει δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἤδη που κινδυνεύεται ἢ μεταβολή; also Demosth. 34.28 τὰ χρήματα κινδυνεύεται τῷ δανείσαντι; and perhaps Thuc. 2.35.1 καὶ μὴ ἐν [ἐν om. CG: habuit Π⁸] ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι.)

antithetical to the prior clause.[44] The chief cause of difficulty here is the extreme boldness of the grammatical *variatio*; in other words, as often elsewhere in Thuc., the symmetry itself is obscured by the too daring variations on it, which can roughly be shown thus:

> . . . *μὴ ἀντίπαλον εἶναι* **ΣΦΙΣΙ** *τὸν κίνδυνον*, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ πλείω αὐτοῖς προυκεχωρήκειν, <u>ἄρξασι μάχης</u> πρὸς πλείονας αὐτῶν <u>ἢ</u> λαβεῖν νικήσαντας Μέγαρα ἢ σφαλέντας τῷ βελτίστῳ τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ βλαφθῆναι, **ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ** ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν παρόντων μέρος ἕκαστον κινδυνεύειν *εἰκότως* <u>ἐθέλειν</u> *τολμᾶν*.

The generals reckoned: "For us, to initiate battle is a *bad gamble* [μὴ ἀντίπαλον κίνδυνον . . . ἢ . . . ἢ . . .], since in case we lose, we lose the very flower of our hoplites; while for him, to initiate battle [for this is what ἐθέλειν means!—cf. also 4.72.2 μηδὲ μάχης καὶ κινδύνου ἑκόντες ἄρξαι, "deliberately to initiate battle"] is a *reasonable venture* [εἰκότως τολμᾶν] in that being composed of contingents from various cities, he mortally endangers only this or that one of them."[45]

Thus a dative of one type (σφίσι) is balanced against a different but kindred dative (τοῖς δὲ); the dat. participle governing a genitive ἄρξασι μάχης is balanced against the two infinitives ἐθέλειν τολμᾶν; the two infinitives ἢ . . . ἢ . . . which are explanatory of κίνδυνον, against κινδυνεύειν which is epexegetical of τολμᾶν,—etc. In sum, there is no pleonasm here, and no need to emend.

2.35.1 ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμάς . . . καὶ <u>μὴ ἐν</u> [ἐν om. CG: habuit Π[8]] <u>ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι</u> [πιστευθ. del. Herw. ("turpe emblema"), Badham].

Because of the indirect speech which makes both verbs infinitive, this odd construction is often misconstrued, in that an acc.-inf. construction (sc. τὸ) ἀρετὰς πιστευθῆναι is seen as subject of κινδ.: "belief in the virtues of many is set at risk by one" (etc.). The Greek is, in fact, *equivalent* to this (see below); but the actual construction is strongly indicated by the word order. ἀρετάς is subject of κινδ. and πιστευθ.

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[44] So Graves feels obliged to supplement Thuc. (italics mine): "the several contingents might be willing to risk a battle *with the chance of their neighbors suffering more than themselves.*" This seems a too tortuous (if "Thucydidean" enough) explanation of καὶ τῶν παρόντων. Thuc. would much better have written e.g. μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, or ξὺν ἄλλοις, κινδυνεύειν.

[45] Note that this, more or less, is the sense of the scholiast's paraphrase, to which Hude appealed in emending: οἱ δὲ Πελ., πολλὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἔχοντες αὐτόθι ἀφ' ἑκάστης δὲ πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὀλίγου μέρους παρόντος οὐκ ἐφοβοῦντο τὴ ἡττὰν (κτλ.).

is purely epexegetical, lit.: "the virtues of many are a thing endangered by one man, from being believed (in that they are believed) both when he speaks well and when he speaks ill)."[46]

The idiom seems clarified by the analogous passages adduced here by Rusten. For just as, e.g., the personal construction at Eur. *Alc.* 278 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν σοί ἐσμεν καὶ ζῆν καὶ θανεῖν is equivalent to the impersonal (τὸ) ἡμῶν καὶ ζῆν καὶ θανεῖν ἐν σοί ἐστιν, so in Thuc. the personal αἱ πολλῶν ἀρεταὶ ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ κινδυνεύονται is equivalent to the impers. (τὸ) τὰς πολλῶν ἀρετὰς πιστευθῆναι (ἐν) ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ κινδυνεύεται.

(5) *Whole clauses inserted by playful readers (4.63.1, 1.39.3)* These two discussions are long, in part because I would demonstrate the entire nullity of this hypothesis, which is potentially mischievous; in part because they seem paradigmatic in other ways (e.g. 1.39–1.40 as regards the stemma); and in part because they are hard.

4.63.1 In Hermocrates' speech at 4.63.1 are two old *cruces* that caused Rutherford (book IV pp. lv ff.) to delete the whole clause that contains them, because it seemed to him a kind of parody of Thuc.: motiveless, somewhat malicious and deliberately, arcanely "Thucydidean" both in grammar and in diction. I bracket what Rutherford excises (except that for φοβεροὺς he reads φοβερὸν), and by lineation and punctuation I show (in part) how I construe it:

> καὶ νῦν τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τε τούτου διὰ τὸ ἀτέκμαρτον δέος
> καὶ διὰ τὸ ἤδη φοβερούς [παρόντας 'Αθηναίους,
> κατ' ἀμφότερα ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης
> ὧν ἕκαστός τι ᾠήθημεν πράξειν, ταῖς κωλύμαις ταύταις ἱκανῶς νομίσαντες
> εἰρχθῆναι,] τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀποπέμπωμεν (κ.τ.λ.)
> ("Now therefore terrified doubly, both with the implicit fear of the uncertainty of events, and with the terror of the Athenians present, and taking these for hindrances sufficient to have made us come short of what we had severally conceived to effect, let us" etc.: Hobbes).

The first two lines (as printed above) are chiastic, both logically and grammatically. For in the middle are a verbal noun and a verbal adjective each meaning "fear"; on the ends are the two things feared,

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[46] I.e. not, *pace* most commentators, "*according as* he speaks well or ill." The sense is clear in the light of what follows: ignorance and envy, on the one hand, partisan fellowship on the other, each believe only that which is consonant with itself; and nothing an orator can do (εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον—no matter) can change this. For even if he speaks μετρίως (i.e. without either exaggerating or denigrating the virtues of the dead), still the speaker encounters disbelief; for those sympathetic to the dead feel that his praise is stingy, and the envious, that he exaggerates.

the Impalpable and the All-too-palpable (the Athenians). Also, these lines form a larger chiasmus with the preceding speech in which these same topics were discussed in reverse order (viz. present danger from Athenians, future danger from private quarrels). Since all this seems—at least at first sight—artful, Rutherford's excision of the second clause is immediately suspect; but what is fatal to it is that the grammar itself seems "Thucydidean" almost inimitably.

There have been two main grammatical problems: What kind of hybrid construction is διὰ . . . 'Αθηναίους? And what governs (or is governed by) τὸ ἐλλιπές? I take the second problem first as being, I think, easier.

The problem is that, as Poppo says, to call τὸ ἐλλιπές "accative of respect" is a non-explanation ("'accusativos absolutos', ubi non ex idonea aut grammatica aut oratoria nascuntur causa, inania commenta de iusta enodatione desperantium esse novimus"!!). More sensible than this would be just to insert ἐς, as did a scholiast here. On the other hand, to construe the phrase as subject of εἰρχθῆναι, "disappointment in what we expected was prevented" etc., produces sheer tautology.[47] But I suspect that readers have mistaken the rhythm of the whole sentence; that τὸ ἐλλιπές is parallel to κατ' ἀμφότερα, coordinated with that by καί;[48] and that, as elsewhere in Thuc., we have an "internal accusative" with ἐκπλήσσω retained in the passive: "confounded on both sides, and by the failure of our plans," etc. For this kind of accusative in general cf. Smyth ¶ 1747 (and the other places there cited, also 1574); in Thuc. we find e.g. 3.82.5 τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπεπληγμένος, 5.10.6 τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ ἐκπεπληγμένοις, 6.11.4 ἡμᾶς . . . ἐκπεπληγμένοι, 6.33.4 τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν καὶ δύναμιν μὴ ἐκπλάγῃ.[49]

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[47] "If [critics] say, like Arnold, that τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης εἴργεται is a condensed expression for ἡ γνώμη εἴργεται ὥστε ἐλλιπὲς γενέσθαι, or like Jowett, that τὸ ἐλλιπές is an *accusativus pendens* which may be regarded also as a remote accusative after εἰρχθῆναι, they speak in language which is as much beyond my understanding as the expression which they desire to explain"—thus rightly Rutherford (p. lvi). "Εἰρχθῆναι dictum pro γενέσθαι, ἐμπεποιῆσθαι" (Bauer, approved by Poppo) seems equally desperate.

[48] For the exact kind of *variatio*, a prep. phrase coordinated with a noun, see Ros, Μεταβολή pp. 173–9; for the accusative in particular, pp. 179–80 (where the present example should go). Especially pertinent perhaps, since it too involves a rather fancy accusative is 8.109 (q.v.) ὅπως . . . τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ περὶ τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν . . . ἀπολογήσηται. Cf. also 5.65.3 (q.v.).

[49] See also Madvig, *Syntax* ¶ 25, Matthiae ¶ 420–24, Kühner-Gerth II ¶ 409. Madvig *Adv. Crit.* I. 85 was first to notice a handsome specimen in Plut. *Pelop.* 1: a place where critics had tried large transpositions because the const. was hidden from them by διὰ, interpolated by a scribe unfamiliar with the accusative: "ἀλλὰ Συβαρίταις μὲν ἐκτετηκόσιν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καί μαλακίας [διὰ] τὴν πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὁρμὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν

Between ἐκπλαγέντες and νομίσαντες there is thus "asyndeton." Thuc. is peculiarly fond of this dense, sonorous kind of structure, in which participles (or other words of similar weight) are juxtaposed without connectives, either because one explains another, or because one (as probably here νομίσαντες) goes a tiny bit more closely with the main verb.[50] Here this merely prolongs an "asyndeton" that we have in any case between διὰ . . . and ἐκπλαγέντες. For after all the two prepositional phrases do not really (as in Hobbes) modify ἐκπλαγέντες; instead, being parallel with that, they modify the main verb.[51]

As for διὰ . . .' Αθηναίους, normal grammar could be obtained by a slight emendation: τὸ to τοὺς (as Reiske, Steup), or παρόντας to παρεῖναι (cf. an almost identical corruption at 6.1.2), or simply <εἶναι> (as in the scholium, which is quoted in Appendix II). But most editors, who elsewhere do not balk at more drastic emendations than these, have left the construction intact because something in its queerness does not seem a result of chance.

If we keep the received text there are three explanations, none of which satisfies everyone. (1) The usual one is that of Poppo, that it

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εἰκότως ἐφαίνοντο μισεῖν τὸν βίον οἱ μὴ φοβούμενοι τὸν θάνατον (Sybaritis, qui deliciis et mollitia studium honesti et gloriae cupiditatem amiserant et tanquam exustam et liquefactam deposuerunt)." No doubt this bold, quasi-"poetic" accusative might be doubted, were it not for the fact that (unbeknownst to Madvig) the first hand in the oldest MS has written the true reading in the margin.

[50] For subtle analysis, illustrated from Xen. and Thuc., of "accumulations" of participles in particular, see Krüger's *Griechischen Sprachlehre* ¶ 56.15 (subdivided [1] Anacolouthon; [2] the two participles are in apposition; [3] one participle subordinate to another; [4] one of the two participles is (in effect) united with the verb; [5] two participles are differently related to one verb; [6] one participle is predicative to another). For Thuc. see also W.H. Forbes (ed.) Thuc. Book I (Oxford 1895) 143–4; L. Nagel *Quaestiones* (etc.) 39 ff. My own favorite specimen is 3.68.1 οἱ δὲ Λακ. δικασταὶ νομίζοντες . . ., ἡγούμενοι . . ., αὖθις . . . παραγαγόντες καὶ ἐρωτῶντες εἰ . . ., ἀπάγοντες ἀπέκτεινον (κ.τ.λ.).

But the phenomenon extends beyond participles into other parts of speech. Cf. above on 4.102.3; or note, in this same 3.68.1 which I have just cited, the prodigious density of ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξοντο ἡγούμενοι τῇ ἑαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει ἔκσπονδοι ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς πεποιθέναι. The meaning of such a "clause," in which half a dozen logically distinct ideas are crammed into one grammatical construction, unfolds only if one ponders it, translating its separate phrases (and even words, as here δικαίᾳ, ἔκσπονδοι, ἤδη) into clauses.

[51] As for ὧν (= τούτων ἅ), that genitive is "overdetermined," as one might say, in a way typical of Thuc.; for it could depend on ἐλλιπὲς, κωλύμαις or—most probably—εἰρχθῆναι: that is why this clause comes right in the middle. (For a convincing demonstration that this kind of ambiguity in Thuc. was deliberate see K.R. Fickert, *Thucydides consulto ambiguus* [Diss. Berlin 1854]). The sentence is resonant and hard to translate, like poetry.

represents a confusion of two constructions, διὰ τὸ παρεῖναι and διὰ τοὺς παρόντας. But for one thing, in a period so artful, we seem likelier to have that which is recherché than "confused" in any sense of the word. And secondly, the two parallels always adduced are not quite convincing. At 8.105.2 διὰ τὸ . . . διώκοντες is given only by FABM; therefore, it seems perverse not to accept διώκειν.[52] At 5.7.2 καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ . . . καθημένους βαρύνεσθαι, one can take καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος as "quamquam invitus" as Stahl: the "editorial remark" thus obtained does not surprise one, and then everything from καὶ to ἦγεν is perfectly chiastic.[53]

(2) Stahl put a comma after τὸ ἤδη, so that we understand δέος twice and take παρόντας Ἀθηναίους in apposition to it. Steup (*Anhang* ad loc.) objects that we then have antithesis between fear of the future and fear of the present (τοῦ ἀφανοῦς and ἤδη) which is unmeaning, since for Hermocrates, both fears belong equally to the present. This objection is feeble, both because τὸ ἤδη is at once reinforced by the phrase which explains it, and because the antithesis—many-sided, resonant, logically vague, as often in Thuc.—cannot be reduced to future/present. Still, the broken rhythm and the clumsiness obtained by such punctuation seems alien to this sentence.[54]

(3) Among the "Testimonia Pseudothucydidea" collected by Hude (*Ed. max.* III.324–5) is the following interesting item (the question in parenthesis at the end is Hude's. What exactly he proposed will be discussed later):

> φόβῳ] Ioann.Glyc. p.42, 15: παρὰ τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ . . . περιῆν τοῖς βαρβάροις τῷ φόβῳ τεθνάναι "τοὺς Ἕλληνας". τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι φθάνει χρησάμενος πρὸ τούτων καὶ ὁ Θουκυδίδης (cf. IV 63, 1??)

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[52] I fancy that the reason why the *beta* reading has been taken seriously is that 19th-century critics had no idea of the stemma (so that Cobet, Herwerden and even Stahl often fail even to cite CG). Διώκοντες seems to me an "aural" error (Ch. X, 1) influenced by κρατήσαντες.

[53] It may seem that there is something very bold in this chiastic word order; for when a nominative participle is followed by καί, which is followed by another nom. participle, we expect that καί to be a connective! But if—as I suppose—it never entered Thucydides' head that someone could construe τὸ καθημένους, there is no "boldness" in it.

Compare e.g. 7.71.2 καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνώμαλον καὶ τὴν ἔποψιν τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἠναγκάζοντο ἔχειν: here too, the word order is chiastic, καὶ adverbial, and the boldness even greater, because of the brachylogy: "and because of the unevenness (of the view) from land they necessarily had (an uneven) view of the seafight too."

[54] The rhythm is better if, keeping Stahl's comma after τὸ ἤδη, we suppose that τοὺς . . . Ἀθ., like τὸ ἐλλιπές, is governed by ἐκπλαγέντες: but that seems most improbable.

One also reads in Poppo's note ad loc.:

> Abresch. Auct. p. 342 post τὸ e superioribus δέος supplens, "duplex dedisse scriptorem ait regimen vocabulo δέος, usitatum cum genit. et, quod rarius est, verbi." (Beck.) [Poppo objects:] Sed quamquam οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι τῷ φόβῳ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους scripsit Demosth. Phil. 1.45. . . ., et οὓς πάλαι ἐτεθνήκειτε τῷ δέει Arri. E.A. [*sic, pro Anabasis*] VII, 9, 4. 7.9.4 . . ., denique μέριμναι ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος τὸν ἀμφιτειχῆ λεών Aesch. [*Th.* 291], tamen et in his accusativus, quod de primo loco adnotavit Matth. Gr. ¶ 423 extr., minus ex solis substantivis quam e totarum locutionum significationibus pendet, nec oratio sic variari potest.

In other words, καὶ διὰ τὸ (δέος) . . . Ἀθηναίους, the latter accusative being governed by the verbal force in δέος. By objecting to the *variatio* Poppo means that the same word (δέος) cannot govern both a genitive and an accusative. This point I think feeble. What his first, more forcible objection means, and what Matthiae (loc. cit.) appears to have thought, is that in all such expressions the verbal noun does not itself 'take' the accusative, but goes closely with the verb to form a periphrastic verb that takes the acc. (cf. Smyth 1598, Kühner-Gerth 2 p. 301 Anm. 7, 322 ¶ 4). Thus the example from Demosthenes is explained by Matthiae as equivalent to δεδίασιν ὥστε τεθνάναι; and it seems best to explain the Arrian and the Aeschylus, which Poppo cites, as well as other examples in the grammar books, in the same way. Some very few examples seem doubtful (as to me the Demosthenes does), e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 1201 θανόντα δεσπόταν γόοις νόμῳ τῷ νερτέρων κατάρξω (Matthiae: "i.e. δεσπόταν γοᾶσθαι ἄρξομαι"; but LSJ, "I will lead the dirge over the queen"). For this reason, I do not think that (δέος) governing the accusative can quite be ruled out here; but admittedly, like the other two construings (A) and (B), it is not quite convincing.

But more attractive is Hude's own suggestion. In his *Editio maxima* he adopts Stahl's text and punctuation, but there in his apparatus he conjectures διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν τοὺς παρόντας Ἀθηναίους. The charm of this is that with verbal adjectives + accusative, Poppo's and Matthiae's explanation—that of a periphrasis—does not hold. These adjectives (on which see e.g. Matthiae ¶ 346.2 Obs. 3, 349 Obs. 1 etc.) seem equivalent to participles; e.g. Xen. *An.* 2.5.9. φοβερώτατον ἐρημία; *H.G.* 1.4.17 τῶν φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι; *Cyr.* 2.2.5. ἡγεμονικοὶ τὰ πονηρά; Aesch. *Ch.* 23. χοὰς προπομπός; Prom. 904. ὁ πόλεμος ἄπορα πόριμος.

Hude was presumably influenced by the testimonium which I quoted above. If in addition one bear in mind Thucydides' fondness for verbal nouns and adjectives in general (i.e. of construing them with adverbs [as here ἤδη], prepositional phrases, infinitives, objective and subjective genitives [cf. 4.55.2 quoted below]), and also his fondness for the boldest kinds of *variatio*, and also the exact chiastic structure of this sentence (described above), one can feel the force of this conjecture, which I myself think right.

In any case, the only *certain* thing is that, of all the different solutions, that which simply excises the whole clause—as if any copyist, Corrector or pastiche-artist could have devised it—is the most plainly wrong. The sentence as I, at least, construe it combines these "Thucydidean" features: an elaborately careful, yet grammatically loose, overall construction, involving two rather arcane accusatives ("poetic," as the grammar books term them); chiasmus; a sonorous asyndeton; the strategically placed "overdetermined" genitive of ὧν κ.τ.λ.; and as Rutherford says, the "archaic diction" of ἐλλιπές and κωλύμῃ, "and perhaps τι πράξειν and ᾠήθημεν."

According to Rutherford (lxiv ff.), a parodist deliberately imitates such features; but in the present case, these are so many that this homunculus looks like a man of genius.

Rutherford says that he "gets his cue" from other passages; in this case from 4.55.2 καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους οἷς τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειρούμενον ἀεὶ ἐλλιπὲς ἦν τῆς δοκήσεώς τι πράξειν. Partly by way of imitating this, he produced the monstrosity at 4.63. That cannot be by Thuc., since "men do not write for page after page the most regular and transparent of styles, and then in a single sentence prefer idioms so obscure and abnormal that devices of every sort must be invented to get at their thought."

But first, those "most regular and transparent" pages do not exist, except when emended by such as Rutherford. Secondly, as we have shown, this impossibly "abnormal and obscure" writing consists of good Thucydidean idiom, one small corruption, and modern obtuseness. And lastly, if we do suppose that the text is more seriously corrupt and that modern attempts to understand it have not been obtuse, our parodist is a man unable even to write grammatically; but this not even Rutherford really imagines.[55]

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[55] Madvig (*Adv. crit.* I 92–3) makes in effect the same point when he says that critics, disturbed by bad grammar (etc.), attribute this to monstrous interpolators

This hypothesis, therefore, is not only devoid of hard evidence but also self-refuting. It is unhelpful, and it would not be worth discussing but for the fact that, as I said in beginning, elsewhere saner editors have enjoyed this same fantasy.

At 1.39.3 a clause of 64 letters was excised by Bekker (1821) and Poppo (*Editio Maior* 1823); the last editor to try to reinstate it was Krüger (1860). To most it seems lacking in MS authority, and as if related to a transposition in cod. C; also grammatically hard, problematical in sense, doubtfully Thucydidean, and turgid. I would answer all objections but that to its difficulty—which by itself is far from adequate grounds for deleting anything in Thuc.

Bracketing what editors reject, I print most of 1.39.3, in such a way as to uncover the somewhat baroque concinnity that I think Thuc. intended. In the app. crit. I use Kleinlogel's *sigla*:

οὓς χρῆν . . . τότε προσιέναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν ᾧ . . .

ὑμεῖς τε δυνάμεως αὐτῶν τότε οὐ μεταλαβόντες
  τῆς ὠφελίας νῦν μεταδώσετε,
καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἄπο γενόμενοι
  τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον ἕξετε·

παλαὶ δὲ κοινώσαντας τὴν δύναμιν
  κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν·
[ἐγκλημάτων δὲ μόνων ἀμετόχως
  οὕτως τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων μὴ κοινωνεῖν.]

ἄπο γενόμενοι **C E** <G> recte: ἀπογενόμενοι cett. | κοινώσαντας **C M**: κοινωνήσαντας **A B E**: κοινω + + σαντας F^1 [G] | Verba uncis inclusa] omnia sic habent **G** (nisi fort. μόνον) C_2 (praeter ἐγκλημάτων quod **C** hab. solum) **K J** (supralin.): οὕτω pro οὕτως (velut G) et ἀμετόχους pro -ως recc.: omnia om. ceteri. ἐγκλημάτων τε μόνον μὴ ἀμετόχους . . . τούτων κοινωνεῖν Ribbeck[56]

Valla [my italics]: "nam qui olim cum aliis vires suas communicassent, ii debent quae illis contingunt habere communia: *vos vero, ut criminibus modo istorum affines non fuistis, sic neque post eorundem actiones affines esse debetis.*" Stephanus [in mg., "improving" Valla; again my italics]: oportebat autem, iam pridem communicatis viribus, communem quoque eventum

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whom they only half imagine; for these errors "tam aperta sunt et manifesta, ut verba litteraeve sensu cassae interpolatori quamvis perverso tribui nequeant: itaque delendo nihil agitur nisi ut difficultas vi occultetur."

[56] O. Ribbeck *Rh. Mus.* 23 (1868) 212–13. Other discussions (other than commentaries) to which I refer are Hermann *Philol.* 1 (1846) 368–9 and L. Herbst *Philol.* 16 (1860) 275–6.

habere: *at solorum maleficiorum expertes, ne harum quidem rerum quae maleficia sequuntur consortes esse oportet.*"[57]

Now, our struggles with the grammar of this somewhat ugly sentence will be tedious. But one should not—as most critics do here—begrudge the labor on the flimsy pretext (to be examined later) that the supplement has no MS authority. As often, much the most valuable discussion is that in Poppo's *Editio major.* After having attentively quoted Stephanus, Bloomfield, Bauer, Gottlieb, Gail, Hermann and Haack, he summarizes thus the case for excision:

> sed quum μόνον, utcunque exaratur, sententiam depravare videatur, [still, one cannot as Bloomf. simply delete it]; ct quum transitus ad aliud subiectum durior sit [i.e. from Corcyreans to Athenians,—yet] tota autem sententia nihil contineat quod non in praegressis iam melius sit expositum, denique optimi quique libri hanc enunciationem ignorent, primus Gailius eam ab aliquo interprete adscriptam censuit.

As will be seen, I reject all of this. In what follows, I address first the grammar, then the style, then the manuscripts.

(A) *The grammar.* At first sight, μόνον (-ων) is indeed difficult, so that Bloomfield deletes it and Hobbes' handsome version just ignores it: "They should communicate their power before hand that mean to make common the issue of the same, and they that share not in the crimes ought also to have no part in the sequel of them."[58] This is good enough sense, but omits not only μόνον (-ων) but also οὕτω(ς) and τούτων. Inserting them we get, "and those without share *only* in their crimes ought not, *for that reason,* to share what results from the actions *of these men.*" This is harder. "Without share only in the crimes" is unlikely since the Ath. have just been described as "shareless," also, in the Corcyreans' δύναμις. Also, οὕτως here appears almost pointless. Hence, Ribbeck's small neat emendation (see app. crit.), and a barrage of complaints by Herbst and others.[59]

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[57] Valla I quote merely to show that his text had the clause and that, like Hobbes quoted below, he too felt its symmetry. Stephanus' version is curious: "But those who had no part only in the crimes ought not to participate *even* [?] in their consequences."

[58] *Pace* Poppo, it is after all *possible* that μόνον (-ων) is alone corrupt (after all, as wc saw in Ch. V, marginalia are most liable to corruption); but in what follows I shall ignore this possibility.

Hobbes often thus skips over a difficulty. Yet still more often, as here, he alone catches perfectly the rhythm of a whole passage (here it is too long to quote); and even when he is wrong he gives much food for thought.

[59] On Herbst see below. Bloomficld deletes μόνον but accepts the clause: "Besides,

There are two main lines of defense of the paradosis, one by Hermann (from which he later recanted), the other by Krüger. Hermann construed in the usual way, taking ἐηκλημάτων . . . ἀμετόχους together and οὕτως . . . κοινωνεῖν together. But he showed that one can avoid the logical difficulty that results from this, by taking ἀμετόχως (for which he read -ους) as referring not to the past or present but to the future; or in other words, it is part of a threat, not the statement of a fact. I quote his translation together with Poppo's paraphrase of it:

> ita vero, ut solorum criminum participes non reddamini, vos in eorum, quae Corcyraeorum res gestas sequuntur, communionem venire non oportet; *i.e. vos quum non eadem quae Corcyraei patraveritis, non eadem decet pati; quod si esset, a solis criminibus eorum liberi essetis, non item a malis, quae propter haec crimina iis inferantur.*

Unfortunately—as is shown by their comments elsewhere—neither Herman nor Poppo quite understood the force of this construing; for they took ἐγκλήματα—"crimina"—to mean *probra* rather than *criminationes.* The word means the "grounds of complaint" which the Corinthians now have about actions in the past. The whole sentence is in the imagined future, a threat about what might happen. If the Ath. should now behave unwisely, they will share the Corcyreans' punishment, and be thus "free" *only* of the present (harmless) complaints.[60]

That this is so is shown precisely by one of Poppo's two objections to Hermann, "contrarium est verbis τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον ἕξετε." For if the later clause is rightly taken, the two statements agree perfectly.

Poppo could find nothing else to oppose except that thus the negative seems to go more with χρῆν than with κοινων. so that we should expect not μὴ but οὐ. This is, surely, a tame objection to make, with a writer so often loose in his constructions! Usage with

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I can prove that it is, at least, as ancient as the *second century,* by the following imitation in Dio Cass. 282.35. καὶ οὕτω τῶν πλεονεξίων οὐ συμμετέχοντες αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὸ ἴσον φερόμεθα. also in Liban. Orat. p. 209 C πάντα ἀλογώτατον τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα ἑτέρων εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τιμωρίαν ἑτέρους ὑπέχειν. also p. 204 D." Poppo refuses to see any imitation at all in this. I think it clear in Dio, possible in Libanius; nor do I think it certain that these authors had not μόνον in their text.

[60] On this one point (not on others) Haack (apud Poppo) saw the truth. The Latin translations quoted above are roughly right—but only if "criminum participes" and "criminibus eorum" are taken as objective genitive ("charges against them"), not as possessive gen. ("their crimes"). My own translation is given below.

χρῆ is not so strict (cf. Smyth ¶ 2714; Goodwin *GMT* ¶ 685 and the remarks there ad fin.); and with the change of subject (a thing itself common in Thuc.: nor do I find this instance "durior"), χρῆν has become so distant that μὴ κοιν. has something of the force of an imperative. (This point applies also to the alternative construing, which I now offer.)

Krüger puts (in effect) commas after μόνων and τούτων, so as to change the governments of the two genitives (ἐγκλημάτων μόνων is governed by the verb, τῶν μετὰ κ.τ.λ. by ἀμετόχως). *Pace* Herbst (loc. cit.) and Jowett, I see nothing wrong with the Greek word order that this implies: it would be a handsome chiasmus. But Krüger's actual translation does seem impossible: *es gebürt sich nicht dass ihr, unschuldig an der Folger ihrer Handlungen, (durch ihre Unterstützung) nur Vorwürfen Antheil nehmet.* For in the first place, where is οὕτως? According to Krüger it is a kind of intensive adverb, "*so* unschuldig." But as Herbst says, this is strained and most improbable. (In fact, it amounts to ignoring the word—which is why Krüger's actual translation skips it.) Secondly, one doubts that ἀμετόχως can mean "unschuldig," and even if it could, it is hard to see what on earth could be meant by "(you who are) innocent of the consequences of their actions."

Without doubt, τὰ μετὰ κ.τ.λ. is threatening, and points to the future; and perhaps, as in Hermann's construing, the rest does also. Thus, one might keep Krüger's actual grammar, but understand it thus: "*nor is it right that men [i.e. the Ath.] share only in the crimes without, for that reason* (οὕτως), *sharing in the consequences.*"[61] Thus, on the one hand (in the preceding clause), the Corcyreans must not share with Athens her present danger, without having previously imparted her power; while, as for the Athenians, they must not expect to share the grounds of complaint without, as a consequence, sharing the danger.

(B) *Style of this passage.* Either construing seems possible; leaving that point, I make several remarks about the style, that would apply to either. So as to make it clear that not the last clause alone but the whole sentence is in question, I first imitate its labored, somewhat grotesquely "sophistic," concinnity (in the last clause, I here construe as Hermann—just *because* it is somewhat more grotesque):

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[61] Or to reproduce the effect of the negative postponed to the end: "And that men should participate only in the crimes without, for that reason, sharing in the sequel, is not right either."

But they should have come before when they were safest, not at a time when we have the wrong and they the danger, [*thus far Hobbes*],

nor when you, without having shared their power before,
  will now share with them your aid,
and though you were free of their errors
  will bear the blame equally;

but rather only by having imparted their power before
  should they have partners in the outcome;
while you had better not, avoiding *only* our (present) charges,[62]
  partake of what now follows from what they did.

The last clause, then, is a veiled threat couched in the form of a maxim. This sly and oblique way of speaking, oppressive even in its syntax (as here ἀμετόχως, equivalent to a clause) is far from foreign to Thucydides' Peloponnesians in general, and to these Corinthians in particular.[63] The labored symmetry, with its elaborate variations, resembles that of other parts of this same speech.[64] The phrase τῶν . . . τούτων seems peculiarly "Thucydidean" both by its harsh combination of genitives and by its extreme abstractness.[65] The scorn poured by Herbst on ἀμέτοχος, for its being elsewhere a late word, is wasted in view of the extreme frequency in Thuc. of words of this type,

[62] I.e. "so as to avoid only our charges," "with the result that you avoid only" etc.; "while you must not, avoiding(ly) only of our charges," etc. The Greek is subtle and almost untranslatable.

[63] Herbst (loc. cit.) complains at great length that we do not want threats at this point in the speech. But it seems a kind of style of argument to insert veiled threats at points of climax. Notice that chapter 1.40, too, ends with a threat: for that reason, editors would transpose all 1.40.6 so it can come after 1.42!

For Corinthian threats cp. also 1.40.2 ('The agreement was not made for those who attack innocent people,') ἀλλ' ὅστις μὴ δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσει; also 1.42.2 καὶ οὐ μέλλουσαν.

Whether Thuc. himself was quite conscious of certain traits that seem to emerge as "Peloponnesian"—that of hypocrisy, or more exactly, *that of making threats as if they were stating facts, or moral truths, or general laws*—I am not sure. The Athenians, for all their faults and crimes, never speak in this covert style (e.g. at Melos, how brutally frank they are!); whereas the Thebans do (at Plataea, passim), Archidamus does it (at Plataea: 2.74.2 last clause; and cf. Thuc.'s own grotesque summary of Spartan reasoning at 3.68.1), Brasidas does it (4.87 passim), and even the Corcyreans: 1.36.1, last clause.

[64] E.g. 1.37.2. As was pointed out by Nagel (p. 37), it is solely for the sake of a three-part logical symmetry with 1.37.4 that at 37.2 superfluous particles are inserted, that make several points out of what should be but one.

[65] How Poppo (ad loc.) should have seen in this phrase a "scholiast's elegance" mystifies me. One may find such "nouns," made by attaching the article to a prepositional phrase, by the dozen in any index to Thuc., as 7.75.6 τὰ μετὰ πολλῶν, 2.52.2 οἱ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, 4.40.1 τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, 7.74.1 τὸ κατ' ἑαυτόν etc.

used once or twice by him alone, then not attested till Hellenistic times;[66] and complaints about the apparent pleonasm ("tota autem sententia nihil continet quod non in praegressis" etc.—Poppo) are still less apt. They result in part from the misconstruing, in part from a moment's oblivion of the fact that Thuc. often writes like this.

For these reasons, and because no sane motive has yet been adduced for its interpolation, it would seem improper to excise this clause on any but the strongest grounds of grammar or manuscript authority. But this is just what nearly all editors, lacking such grounds, have done.

(C) *The clause's provenance; the manuscripts.* In the first place, that the clause could be any kind of a "gloss" has not, to my knowledge, been asserted by anyone. There are three hypotheses, which I take the trouble to spell out because each helps (involuntarily) to show how strong is the case for retaining the clause. (1) The supplement is motiveless, playful, a kind of parody of Thuc., such as some scholars think 3.84 to be, or such as Rutherford sees in the long clause at 4.63.1 (discussed above). This, insofar as it can be answered at all (for there are simply no facts on which to base a discussion), has already been implicitly refuted in what we observed above about the language here.

(2) Classen noticed that in the preceding clause the reading κοινώσαντας is given only by C G and the second hand in M; and that the same MSS that have κοινωνήσαντας also omit the last clause. Now κοινωνήσαντας (Classen thought) is the *lectio difficilior*—since here alone it takes the acc. (as if equivalent to κοινὴν ἔχοντας), and since also it demands a kind of expansion of the subject (from Corcyreans to Corcyreans and Athenians both). Therefore the CG copyist "emended" it into κοινώσαντας. Then, since κοινώσαντας brings the notion of "imparting," and since it is logically the party to which appeal for help is made that "imparts," some Byzantine assumed that the subject must now be the Athenians. Therefore, in order to make this clearer, the spurious clause was invented!

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[66] Herbst loc. cit. J.D. Wolcott, *TAPA* 29 (1898) 104–157, lists 957 words which, according to him, are found first in Thuc.: among which are 85 new adverbs, including 62 ending -ως of which a third have alpha privative, and 159 new adjectives including 33 with alpha privative; and those marked "again only after B.C. 300" and "only here" are so many that it seemed pointless to count them. (Similar, curiously smaller lists are in Schmid *Geschichte* pp. 186–8 who counts 467 words found first in Thuc. Both he and Luschnat who cites him (*RE* Suppl. 12 1970 1265 a) seem to have been oddly unaware of Wolcott's article, so that all this work was done twice!)

This elaborate theory is too obviously false to need refutation (try to imagine that interpolator!) But it should be stated plainly that κοινωνήσαντας cannot be right: this was clearly shown by Ribbeck[67]: add to his arguments the consideration that this same corruption more plainly occurs at 8.8.4 (where M alone is right) and 8.48.3 (CEG right). The interesting fact, then, is that nearly all of the same codd. that have this corruption—viz. EFAB—also omit the next clause.

(3) Croiset (approved by Steup, Hude and even strangely Alberti). Before quoting him, in order to show exactly what he means, I reprint the text together with the next sentence (with an apparatus to that). The text is that of C, with the additions of c in block letters. In order to see the OCT (i.e. the text of most MSS), you ignore what is underlined and add ἐκγκλημάτων after προσηκόντων:

> (1.39.3) . . . παλαὶ δὲ κοινώσαντας τὴν δύναμιν κοινά καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν· **ἐγκλημάτων** δὲ μόνον ἀμετόχως οὕτω τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων μὴ κοινωνεῖν. (1.40.1) ὡς μὲν οὖν αὐτοί τε μετὰ προσηκόντων τῶν τοῦ δικαίου κεφαλαίων (ex parte del.) πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐρχόμεθα . . . δεδήλωται
>
> τῶν . . . ὑμᾶς] sic c, S2: τοῦ δικαίου κεφαλαίων (in litura pauciorum litt.) M^4: κεφαλαίων (κεφ. ex parte del.) ἐς ὑμᾶς G (et K Ar Ha Pf Pi): ἐγκλημάτων cett. (et omnes edd.)[68]
>
> Il est à remarquer que le *Laur.*, qui donne ἐγκλημάτων seul après ἔχειν ne donne pas ce mot dans la phrase suivante, où il est nécessaire: il y a là une transposition évidente. Mais quelque copiste, ne s'en apercevant pas, aura pris ἐγκλημάτων pour le premier mot d'une phrase nouvelle, et n'aura pas résisté au désir de la completer.

Let us, for the moment, ignore the sense of 1.40.1 and consider only the mechanics of this. It does seem possible that C or an ancestor of C, skipping the 30-letter line ὡς . . . προσηκόντων, transposed ἐγκλήματων.[69] But if that did happen, it must be accounted a coincidence; for the rest of this hypothesis, in itself as absurd as Steup's

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67 *Rh. Mus.* 23 (1868) 212–13: in all the analogous instances (with μετέχειν, μεταλαμβάνειν etc.) it is the *share* (μέρος) that is accusative, the thing shared is genitive.

68 K Pi etc. (listed in Arnold's apparatus, but translated by me into Alberti's *sigla*) are a mixture of dett. and *psi* MSS (on which see below). As for M^4, according to Alberti (*Historiae* clxxiii), that hand "omnia correxit codicem G vel eius adfinem adhibens, ut his exemplis evinci potest: 1 23,3 ὑπψηλότερον G (ante corr.), γρ. M^4, ἰσχυρότατοι cett. I 90,1 ἐς πρεσβείαν GC^3M^4; πρεσβείαν AC; πρεσβείᾳ BEFM." In the present passage, at any rate, its source obviously was not G.

69 With the mechanics of this transposition, compare e.g. Appendix I, list 6, 2.62.2. In the present case there is no apparent cause of omission.

(just try to imagine this copyist!), disintegrates when tested against the *stemma codicum.*[70]

There are two "possibilities," each complicated but worth spelling out.

(I) The transposition is very old, antedating the archetype *Theta*, but still present in *Theta* (since C has it: cf. Ch. II.11 on 8.68.2). Why, then, do MEFAB show no trace of it? Perhaps (A) in this place *beta* was not copied from *Theta*: it was directly copied from what is elsewhere its mere collation exemplar, *Lambda*. Or perhaps (B) the transposition was not only present in *Theta* but also corrected there; and the *beta* copyist understood the correction, while *alpha* (lazy as often) ignored it. The trouble with (B) is that, if the transposition had come as far as *Theta*, so would the interpolations: but CMEFAB contain no trace of them. This fact is also an obstacle to (A). As we have often noticed in this study, *beta* was a somewhat indiscriminate collector of variant readings; and if these entire clauses had been present in *Lambda*, we should expect them to appear in some form in M, E or FAB (especially E). Supposition (A) has something else unattractive in it: after all, it undermines the very foundations of the stemma.

So (II) ἐγκλημάτων was first transposed in *alpha*. (It could not have happened in a *later* MS; for *alpha* is the last ancestor common to CG.[71]) Then C merely reproduced the error; but G's exemplar, *alpha* 2, invented strange Greek to honor this stray word, which it found transposed in *alpha*. From *alpha 2* the supplements—full of difficulty, bungling, fresh from the mint!—passed not only to G but also to the exemplar of c, *beta 3* (or as Alberti, *beta 3a*); for we know that that MS collated with *alpha 2*.

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[70] The reader here will have to consult the stemma diagram. In what follows, page numbers in parenthesis refer to the introduction to Alberti's edition; and I shall use his sigla (which are also Kleinlogel's) *with these exceptions*: I shall use Powell's c to mean what Kleinlogel calls C2 and Alberti C3; I use *alpha 1* as in Kleinlogel to mean a putative intermediary between alpha and C, and *alpha 2* to mean the exemplar of G.

[71] In his introduction p. cii, Alberti lists our clause as a *beta 3* (=c G) error. This is true only in the sense that c G, which are the two offspring of *beta 3*, both have the clause—but it does not help to explain the clause's origin. We cannot suppose (1) that the *beta 3* copyist himself "conjectured" this clause; for plainly, *beta 3* cannot have invented a whole clause to justify a transposition that is peculiar to C (or some other *alpha* MS) from which it does not descend. Nor—if it is an interpolation—can we suppose (2) that it came to him as a *phi* reading (one rightly ignored by f M); for *phi*, too, had no need to justify any error in an *alpha* MS.

All this seems wildly improbable. For (1) surely no known Thuc. copyist of this time, let alone the drab *alpha 2*, has left us samples of such creativity in conjecture.[72] Then (2) how did these creations get to Valla and to *psi* MSS (K J etc.)? Valla, to be sure, can be explained since one of his two exemplars, *rho*, does derive in this place from G (see Ch. VI init.)—but *psi* is harder. It is indeed contaminated with *alpha* readings; but since it appears to share its *alpha*-readings with E, we suppose that *psi*—with which the parent or grandparent of E had plainly collated—got them directly from *alpha* itself. Neither Kleinlogel nor Alberti has ever suggested that *psi* took them from this much later MS.[73] Finally (3) it seems at least possible (see below) that these are *Phi* supplements: that would topple the hypothesis at one stroke, since no *phi* MS has any reason to justify an *alpha* transposition.

Croiset's explanation, then, seems untenable. If we abandon it, we have two possible sources for these supplements: (1) *alpha* or (2) *phi*. (1) Alberti shows that when c G alone are right,[74] the source is probably *alpha*. This is indicated in part (a) by the fact that f M ignore these readings (for if f M has them, they are *phi* readings); then (b) by the fact that sometimes G alone is right, sometimes c alone; then (c) by the fact that sometimes *true* c G readings are shared only by *psi* MSS. (2) As can be seen from a glance at the stemma, this or that true c G reading may be a *phi* reading: one that was ignored by f and M.[75]

In saying above that *alpha 2* must have invented the error, I of course do not rule out the possibility that it was done by some other MS—hitherto unknown—intervening between *alpha 2* and *alpha*. That would change nothing.

[72] Perhaps these editors are influenced (perhaps unconsciously) by the MS traditions of Homer and tragedy; but so far as Thuc. MSS are concerned, not even in the recc., which come three and four centuries later, have I noticed anything like this. See how small and tame, for example, are the other c G errors listed by Alberti, p. cii.

[73] Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 127–8 dates "c2" (as he terms it) at c. 1277. Cf. Alberti, introduction p. xcii, re the date at which psi got its *alpha* readings and passed them to E Z: "quae omnia ante annum 1000 evenerunt: EZ enim saec. X exeunte vel XI ineunte ex γ^1 conscripti sunt, cumque α, unde ψ ortus est, saeculo fere IX scriptus sit . . ., sequitur ut ψ saeculi X parte priore probabiliter sit ponendus." In order to condemn 1.39.3, Alberti must change his stemma and suppose (what does seem possible—cf. Ch. II, section 9) that 250 years later there was a second influx of *alpha* readings into *psi*.

[74] Alberti ciii f lists e.g. 1.31.3 καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν G c: τὸ Ἀττικὸν A B E F M: om. C. 1.78.4 ἣ G c: εἰ δὲ μὴ A B E F M: om. C. 8.46.3 ἐκείνων G c: ἐκείνω C: ἐκεῖνοι M: ἐκεῖνος B: ἐκεῖνο A E F. (Cf. above Ch. II, section 9.)

[75] Alberti pp. ciii–civ seems to think that whenever c G alone are right, the source must *always* be *alpha*. Surely, it is only *coincidence in error* that proves such a thing as

I imagine, in view of all this, that the clause at 1.39.3 was omitted in most MSS from a copyist's eye having skipped it, on acount of the *homoiotes* -EIN . . . -EIN: it is not necessary to imagine (as e.g. Arnold) its excision by some fastidious ancient "editor."

And what of 1.40.1? Here the supplement is too plainly corrupt for a defense so elaborate. In particular, κεφαλαίων, which in c G is half erased and which Valla strangely renders "ingressu," is suspect.[76] Still, one can translate: "That, as for us, *we* have come to you [πρὸς ὑμᾶς need not be gratuitous] having capital arguments consonant with justice [cp. 2.87.9 τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἄθλοις τῆς ἀρετῆς "with rewards consonant with their valor"], whereas they (etc.) . . ., has now been demonstrated." The pedantic elaboration of this would be in keeping with the rest of this speech. Τοῦ δικαίου, in particular, coheres with 40.1 οὐκ . . . δικαίους and 41.1 δικαιώματα: the Corinthians, overelaborately demarcating the different parts of their argument, now stress its impeccable justice.

Thus I doubt that Croiset is right to say that ἐγκλημάτων is "necessary," or that editors are right to ignore the supplement without comment. As regards the mechanics, it seems as if *Theta*'s text had neither of the two supplements. As we have seen, that at 1.39.3 is almost certainly authentic; and this fact makes it impossible to explain that at 1.40.1 as Croiset, Hude and Alberti presumably would. They suppose that just as the clause at in 1.39.1 was invented to account for ἐγκλημάτων which had been transposed there, so these words in 1.40.1 were invented to fill the hole made by its absence. We seem driven instead to suppose that both supplements, though not in the text of *Theta* (CEFABM), are authentic and survived as

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that. A true reading may survive in more than one way; and it can be ignored by some MSS: especially when (as presumably here) it is long, difficult and not needed by those MSS (since they have already adapted to the corruption). So at times a true *phi* reading survived only in c G (ignored by f M: as happens palpably e.g. at 8.67.2, where c G, in company with a GMc scholium, alone preserve ἡ), or only in G M (ignored by f c), or only in c M (ignored by G f), or only in f M (ignored by c G)—and so on. (See e.g. the lists given by Kleinlogel *Geschichte* p. 115 & n. 18: note the c G readings which he lists as *phi* readings). Of course, the most spectacular of these *phi* readings is at 4.118.4 where f M alone preserved the 56 letters ξυμμάχοις <. . . ξυμμάχους> omitted by *Theta*.

[76] Valla translates (my italics): "Et planum quidem fecimus, eo quo oportet aequitatis *ingressu* nos venisse, et istos violenté in nos avaréque fecisse" (which Stephanus emends thus: "nos cum firmissimis aequitatis argumentis huc venisse, istos vero violentos" etc.) Plainly *ingressu* renders something other than κεφαλαίων. According to Hude (who does not notice Valla) "verbum autem q.e. κεφαλαίων fortasse adnotationi in margine adscriptae (κεφάλαιον) debetur."

marginalia. At 1.39.3 the loss was not felt; but at 1.40.1 the *beta* MSS interpolated ἐγκλημάτων to fill the hole.

In other words, in spite of the "coincidence" that this involves, it is much easier to imagine that ἐγκλημάτων was inserted, to make up for the missing line, than vice versa.[77]

So as not to end the chapter with such mechanics, I quote a handsomer sentence, 7.57.1 (Here the letters in parenthesis refer to an elaborate A B A B pattern that extends both to logic and to the grammar:)

> τοσοίδε γὰρ ἑκάτεροι
> (A) ἐπὶ Σικελίαν τε
>   (B) καὶ περὶ Σικελίας
> (A) τοῖς μὲν ξυγκτησόμενοι τὴν χώραν **ἐλθόντες**
>   (B) τοῖς δὲ ξυνδιασώσοντες **[ἐπὶ Συρακούσας]**
>   ἐ π ο λ έ μ η σ α ν
> (α) οὐ κατὰ δίκην τι μᾶλλον
>   (β) οὐδὲ κατὰ ξυγγένειαν **μετ' ἀλλήλων στάντες**
>   ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκάστοις τῆς ξυντυχίας
> (α) **ἢ κατὰ τὸ ξυμφέρον**
>   (β) ἢ ἀνάγκῃ ἔ σ χ ε ν.

ἐπὶ Συρακούσας] del. Classen, Herw.: -αις alii ("-ας, cum de utraque pugnantium parte sermo sit, ferri nequit"—Stahl) || ὡς ἑκάστοις (-οι supralin.) . . . . ἀνάγκῃ (-κης supralin.) ἔσχον B (ἔσχον etiam recc.): ἕκαστοι . . . ἔσχον edd. ("cum nusquam sic impersonali ἔχειν Th. utatur"—Stahl. sed cf. 1.22.3 ὡς ἑκατέρῳ ἔχοι, 1.22.4 [τούτοις] ἀρκούντως ἕξει, quod velutsi impers. traduxit pulcherrime Hobbes, "they will find enough herein to make them think it profitable" [i.e. lit. "there will be enough for them"]; et cf. Hdt. 7.188.2 τοῖσι οὕτω ὅρμου εἶχε.)

The gloss would be unmotivated and the change to dative, though small and tempting, enfeebles the phrase. What twice misleads readers is the commingling—or rather, interweaving—of constructions, necessitated by the elaborate symmetry. Ἐπὶ Συρακούσας must surely be governed not by ἐπολέμησαν but by ἐλθόντες; and similarly—as the B corrector who wrote ἀνάγκης failed to see—ἢ . . . ἢ . . . modifies not ὡς . . . ἔσχεν but στάντες ("having taken sides . . . in hope of gain or by compulsion, according to the circumstances"). To miss these nuances is not only to impugn a sound text but also, I think, to

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[77] Why were two omissions made within so brief a space? This we cannot know. But the "coincidence" of C's transposition (if it did transpose) is nothing very impressive; on that see App. I init.

overlook a certain magnificent compression. I would translate thus (in the second half I mime the interweaving; in the first half I cannot):

> *"Thus-many on either side having come to Syracuse against Sicily and for Sicily, with these to help possess the country and with those to help preserve it, made war, having taken sides not so much on the basis of right or that of kinship, but rather as each city had been affected,*[78] *either in hope of gain or under compulsion, by the chain of events."*

[78] I fail to understand Krüger's objection to the aorist, nor, even, can I see why Hude thinks he must defend it (*Com. crit.* ad loc.). It seems simply to represent time prior to that of the main verb (which itself seems inchoative).

CHAPTER NINE

MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES IN BOOK 8

Book 8 has certain peculiarities. On the one hand, now and then most readers cannot escape an impression that the writing itself is "unpolished" or worse (see below especially on 8.66.3–5); on the other, the text seems abnormally corrupt (cf. especially 8.89.2 discussed in Chapter II ad fin., also below on 8.66.3 and n. 11: that is what the *worst* places are like).

But both facts tend, I think, to mislead textual criticism; and nearly all examples in this chapter are of passages badly analyzed. For on the one hand, there is some very exact, elaborate writing that seems hidden by corruption, and this happens even in sentences that seem so clumsy that editors suspect conflation by a first redactor.[1] As for the corruption itself, that can scarcely be ascribed either to the unfinished state of this book or, as some critics seem to assume, to a sudden surge of creativity by the copyists. There is some interpolation; but its cause appears largely mechanical. If one tries to imagine, without preconceptions, exactly what happened in each place, one finds a sort of common element; but it seems only the haste and boredom of copyists nearing the end of a long task, and hence especially prone to certain crude kinds of error (cf. the passages from Book 8 analyzed in Ch. X).[2] But apart from that, one finds that it is only at first sight that one corrupt place closely resembles another; and overall theories are not only suspect but dangerous, because they blind one.

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[1] See on 8.66.3, 8.66.5, 8.68.1–2 and especially on 8.71. *Something* of that kind can indeed be demonstrated, as it can be also passim in the first half of Book 5: but the repetitions and contradictions are those of larger masses of material, not individual sentences. For editorial "conflation" on the scale of the sentence, none of the putative evidence ever seems to withstand close scrutiny.

[2] The boredom of copyists and correctors would be increased by the drabber, more often repetitious and (superficially) more arid writing in this book; for as was noticed above s.v. 5.47, copyists are at their worst in such passages. In any case, it is an explanation of this sort that I would give for the fact that, in this book, Powell's apparatus not seldom shows a dozen errors per sentence, whereas in the early books there are sometimes only two or three per page. The *xi* and papyrus readings are not the root cause of this increased apparatus; they exist also for Book 7 which is much less impressively corrupt.

Except when otherwise noted, the supposed interpolations are underlined:

8.10.1 τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐγίγνετο καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐπηγγέλθησαν γὰρ <u>αἱ σπονδαί</u>) ἐθεώρουν ἐς αὐτάς: hab. αἱ σπονδαί B Π[17] (P.Oxy. 1247), Valla ("foederum dierum festorum"): om. cett. "Quod interpretamentum esse ostendit schol. ἐπηγγέλθησαν: αἱ σπονδαί δηλονότι"—Stahl.

Naturally, the agreement B *solus*-Valla seems an *Omega* reading; and naturally this agreement between *Omega* and a papyrus—apparently in error—has been prized by writers on the stemma ever since J.E. Powell first drew attention to it; for it might mean very old corruption.[3] So it is worth analyzing accurately, even if at the cost of some hair-splitting.

First, no weight should be attached to the scholium. It is brief and gloss-like, perhaps very late, and subject to all the qualifications discussed in Chapter V, 3 ("Schol. non legit"); beyond this, it is perhaps "an 'Aldine scholium' . . . That is to say, it is not a scholium at all, but a variant in Parisinus suppl.gr. 256 [=Pl], inserted by the second hand, which was collating with a B text" (thus Powell op. cit. p. 77 n. 1.).

As regards the sense, Stahl supposed that the subject of ἐπηγγέλθησαν is τὰ Ἴσθμια, and justified the plural by citing 1.126.5 ἐπῆλθον Ὀλύμπια, 5.75.2 Κάρνεια ἔτυχον ὄντα (the idiom being based perhaps on the fact that festivals were included). But here at 8.10.1 the plural verb is preceded by a singular one: for this reason alone Powell rejects this interpretation; and even if the grammar were tolerable, its sense is not: the γὰρ-clause seems otiose.

Yet Powell (loc. cit.) still favors excision. "The words are by their very nature an obvious gloss, and, if true, would not easily have fallen out of all the other MSS; they moreover require the addition of αὐτοῖς. The subject of ἐπηγγέλθησαν is οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, as many of the earlier editors saw." It is true that one cannot see the cause of omission—this is Powell's strongest point. But to his construing there are two objections, each fatal. First, how otiose remains the γὰρ-clause!—"Meanwhile the Isthmian games took place, and the

[3] Powell, *CQ* 32 (1938) 76–7. He thinks the interpolation not significant because it could have been made twice independently; others—e.g. Hemmerdinger (*Essai* 22), Lewis (*Gnomon* 38 [1966] 136)—are less cautious. Those who, like Bekker, accept αἱ σπονδαί, do not give reasons—e.g. Alberti ("Qu. T." III p. 39, citing Steup), Kleinlogel (*Geschichte* 45, citing Alberti) and Pasquali (*Storia* p. 320).

Athenians—for they were informed about them— . . ." Secondly, as Steup points out, this idiom is unattested. In Bétant one finds that ἐπαγγέλλειν is used seven times actively to mean "appoint, call for, give orders for" in a military sense; three times in the middle to mean "promise" (viz. to furnish the military aid thus called for); and three times (apart from the present passage) to mean "proclaim" games or a truce: twice actively and once passively (5.49.2 λέγοντες μὴ ἐπηγγέλθαι . . . τὰς σπονδάς). All this coheres perfectly with LSJ s.v.; and to get the dull sense that Powell wants, we should have to emend from ἐπ- to ἀπηγγέλθησαν.

So, conceivably, the clause itself ἐπηγγέλθησαν γὰρ had already been transposed by dittography from a later sentence, where it had its military meaning (several places seem possible), then was wrongly glossed. But if it does belong in its present place, the subject must be αἱ σπονδαί, whether implicit or expressed. B, Valla and the papyrus are probably right, then; for except in the case of common ellipses such as those of πολιτείας, γῆς, εἶναι, etc., Thuc., though fond of brachylogy (so here, sc. αὐτοῖς from οἱ Ἀθ.), is not given to ellipse.

8.23.5 ἀπεκομίσθη δὲ πάλιν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων [τῶν νεῶν] πεζός,ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐγγήσποντον ἐμέλλησεν ἰέναι ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων] Nf^{2} Π^{24} (? vide infra): ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νέων cett: ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων H, Gertz: ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων (καὶ) τῶν νεῶν Poppo ex Vallae translatione, "peditatus sociorum itemque classiarius" (idem Alberti, qui add. <ὁ> τῶν νεῶν)

Since some conjecture is involved in it I print P.Oxy. 2100, Fr. 8, col. i, 22 ff., about which the editors say, somewhat recklessly (p. 159), "The papyrus reading, which removes the difficulty, is likely to be right":

[στρατον αναλαβων] ες την Χι	(22 letters
[ον απεκομισθη] δε παλιν	(19 "
[κατα πολεις και ο απ]ο των ξυμ	(23 "
[μαχων πεζος ος επ]ι τον Ελ	(20 "
(κτλ.)	

As Lewis points out (*JHS* 77 [1957] 380) the papyrus has not space enough for both phrases.[4] So ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν is excised by most editors; thus they would vindicate Stahl who thought "interpretamentum

4 Lewis is answering Hemmerdinger, who wonders at the restoration. There would be space if Steup were right to excise κατὰ πόλεις. But Thuc. papyri expose so little gloss-like interpolation (see Ch. VII) that it seems unlikely here.

ductum est ex 23.4": in that case Valla would be a conflation of two texts.[5]

Yet there is nothing self-evident in this "removal of the difficulty," nor is it very economical. We thus suppose three kinds of corruption: omission, glossing or stop-gap interpolation, then (in Valla's exemplar) conflation of the phrase omitted with the stop-gap. It is easier, as did Poppo and Alberti, to suppose omission only. Note that each family might well have omitted a different phrase (on such "coincidences" see App. I init.), for the *homoiotes* καὶ . . . -ων καὶ . . . -ων is easily strong enough for that.

As regards the sense, the complex military facts are not known to us apart from this laconic text, so that this deletion is hazardous. It seems at least possible that τῶν νεῶν is a corruption of Ἰώνων which Gertz conjectured and which is in H.[6] But at least as likely is Alberti's initial defense of the "conflated" reading, which I here paraphrase. The foot-soldiery would be that "of the Spartans and their allies from nearby" of 22.1, comprising Chalcideus' armed sailors (17.1) and Spartan allies. At 22.1, all these together are moving towards Cumae and Clazomenae. These "allies" are mentioned again in our passage, which describes their return south to Miletus. As for Chalcideus' soldiers, they are mentioned suddenly in 24.1, coming to aid Milesian Panormus; then again at 25.2, fighting at Miletus; then again at 32.2. So these marines, who at first were approaching Cumae and Clazomenae, at some point must themselves have turned south in order to fight at Miletus. Since ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός tells us this fact, it could be authentic.

8.24.2 καὶ Λέων καὶ Διομέδων ἔχοντες τὰς ἐκ Λέσβου Ἀθηναίων ναῦς, ἔκ τε Οἰνουσσῶν τῶν πρὸ Χίου νήσων καὶ ἐκ Σιδούσσης καὶ ἐκ Πτελεοῦ, ἃ ἐν

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[5] According to Alberti (*S.I.F.C.* 1957, 232 n. 4), Valla need not himself have "conflated" the reading in his text with an interlinear or marginal variant. At least sometimes he was sometimes very scrupulous, e.g. at 6.100.1 where BH πυραμίδα, supralin. πυλμίδα is rendered *pyramidi*, supralin. *portulae*.

In this article on Valla (op. cit. 243) Alberti accepted Valla's as the true text (hence my critical note; and see below). Fifteen years later—perhaps influenced by having found the papyrus reading written into Nf—he changed his mind; for in *Historiae* p. xxxi he wrote "non est dubium quin Valla vel eius Graecus fonte noverit atque contaminaverit"—second thoughts are not always best. On Valla's exemplar here, cf. n. 7 below.

[6] Note also that if this reading is false, it is an interesting example of intelligent conjecture in a *recentior*. Cf. a similar strong possibility in the next example (below, 8.24.2: also a *xi* MS).

τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ εἶχον τείχη †ἀπῆραν†, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου ὁρμώμενοι, τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Χίους πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐποιοῦντο: ἀπῆραν B: καθεῖλον Pi, γρ, A, Valla ("quos muros in terra habuerunt diruerunt"):[7] om. cett. | καὶ ἐκ τῇ Λέσβου del. Classen: etiam ὁρμώμενοι delendum esse coni. Andrewes (*HCT* ad loc.)

Theta's text is translated clearly and helpfully (as often) by Hobbes: "Leon and Diomedon, with the Athenian galleys that were at Lesbos, made war upon the Chians by sea from the isles called Oenussae, which lie before Chios, and from Sidussa and Pteleum (forts they held in Eythraea), and from Lesbos." Thus, *pace* Classen, Andrewes (*HCT* ad loc.) and the other editors who delete here, there is nothing at all "disturbing" or even repetitious in the double mention of Lesbos.[8] Rather, there are two slight irregularities in the word order: (1) τε . . . καὶ . . . καὶ. . . . may seem to imply that the islands, too, are "forts they held in Erythraea"; then (2) (as Andrewes remarks) "Thuc. normally has ὁρμώμενος closely juxtaposed with ἐκ and its noun" whether those precede or follow. But trajection of τε is so common, and arguments from silence about Thucydidean usage so uncertain, that if we had not the B and Pi readings, we should not be entitled to emend the text: especially since the putative interpolations look improbable.

How then should we explain B and Pi? Hude's remark here is memorable: ". . . . [ἀπῆραν] quod a correctore cum verba ἔκ τε Οἰν. κτλ. cum ὁρμώμενοι cohaerere non intellexisset additum esse apparet, nisi ἀπῆραν ex ἀνῇρουν corruptum est, quam in partem interpretatio Vallae . . . ducit." The first part of this is plausible enough; but "nisi . . ." etc. is clairvoyant, since Hude knew nothing of the Pi reading, and much disliked appealing to Valla!

Surely we must, unless more evidence turns up, admit to perfect *aporia* here. For perhaps (a) *Theta*'s text is right and both supplements were conjectures; after all, if Classen, Andrewes and others have had so much trouble with it, so might more than one corrector. (In that case, Hude and the Pi corrector think alike!) Yet perhaps (b) Hude's second supposition is actually right. After all, ἀπῆραν is queer-looking; it looks abnormally feeble even for a "Byzantine" conjecture.

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[7] Probably Valla's exemplar, *rho*, had καθεῖλον, since Pi too descends from *rho*. But since that MS was much contaminated, the ultimate source of this reading is unknown to us; for example, it might have been *Xi* (on all this see Ch. VI init.).

[8] In what follows I ignore considerations of exact geography: it seems that we know little of these places (see Andrewes, *HCT* ad loc.).

Thus, it seems the more likely of the two supplements to be authentic. Then καθεῖλον is either a good Byzantine conjecture or a very old gloss (e.g. a *Xi*-gloss) for ἀνῄρουν![9]

In any case, if any of these three texts is right, we have interpolation in at least one of the others.

8.50.3 (The subject is Astyochus: here he fails to punish Alcibiades after the latter is unmasked by Phrynichus in a letter. I underline what Hude deletes and print boldface what Herwerden, reading γίγνεται αὐτοῖς, brackets:) ἀνελθὼν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐς Μαγνησίαν καὶ παρὰ Τισσαφέρνην ἅμα **λέγει τε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπισταλέντα ἐκ τῆς Σάμου καὶ** γίγνεται αὐτὸς [sic E M, -οῖς cett.] μηνυτής, προσέθηκέ τε ὡς ἐλέγετο ἐπὶ ἰδίοις κέρδεσι Τισσαφέρνει ἑαυτὸν καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων <u>κοινοῦσθαι</u>. διόπερ καὶ (κτλ.).

κοινοῦσθαι hab. B (cf. Valla, "aliis rebus communicandis"), om. cett., "non legit Schol., ut videtur" (Powell). Hude: "Verbum . . . recensore coniunctionem verborum προσέθηκε—ἑαυτὸν et καὶ περὶ τούτων κτλ. parum intellegente additum esse videtur. sed ita late usus praepositionis περί cum genetivo coniunctae patet, ut nihil offendi possimus. Ad suspicionem augendam, quod verbum κοινοῦσθαι alibi semper cum accusativo rei coniunxit Thuc." (etc.)

As for the scholium, presumably Powell had in mind (my emphasis), ἡ διάνοια· καὶ 'Αστύοχος ἐνέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Τισσ. τοῖς ἰδίοις κέρδεσιν, ὡς ἐλέγετο, **καὶ περὶ τούτου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων**: this surely proves nothing except that the scholiast had the *Theta* text, not the *Omega* text.

As regards the second point made by Hude, the word is not common enough to give us strong arguments from silence. Thuc. only twice elsewhere uses the word (which means "communiter agere," as Bétant says); and we need not be surprised that it can do without its internal accusative (cf. LSJ s.v. II.2). Hude's first point is still weaker; one can only reply: what a strange form—an infinitive depending on the parenthetical ὡς ἐλέγετο, yet responding (τε . . . καί) to προσέθηκε—with which to alleviate the grammar![10] Hude seems led astray once

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9 The question could be settled if in Suidas, Hesychius or some other such place one could actually find ἀνῄρουν glossed καθεῖλον; but I have not found it. (I am assuming, of course, that ἀνῄρουν cannot possibly be a corruption of καθεῖλον; but I am no expert in these matters.) For a list of many certain or probable interpolations by later hands in Pi see Alberti *Historiae* cxxv–cxxvi.

10 The corresponsion, typically Thucydidean, seems probably ἅμα (τε . . . καὶ . . .) τε

again by his constant image of the B "corrector," which here overpowers his sense (usually keen) of what is likely to come from a *librarius*.

The excision of λέγει . . . καὶ by Herwerden—who says only "suspecta mihi"—is more interesting. Once the excision is proposed, the sentence does suddenly seem verbose; and the clause excised does seem an exact—and very characteristic—gloss for γίγνεται αὐτοῖς [or indeed, αὐτὸς] μηνυτής. Further, the particles become more attractive. One admires the astuteness and subtlety of such a conjecture. The trouble is that, in this case, Thuc. nowhere plainly says that Astyochus betrayed to Alcibiades himself the contents of the letter about him: for the τε clause pertains only to Tissaphernes. True: we might guess the fact; but this kind of obliqueness in simple *narrative* does not seem characteristic of Thuc., especially in this book.

This hypothesis may stand for a great many others which I have excluded from this study. I confess that having once seen each such proposal as this, I am then haunted by it. But I doubt if the grounds on which I reject it—that in narrative, Thuc. is plainer than this, and was not afraid of spelling things out—are really caused by an undetected multitude of such interpolations.

> 8.66.3 (There was no legal prosecution; but the *demos* kept quiet and was in such consternation that whoever escaped violence, though he never said a word, counted that a gain.) καὶ τὸ ξυνεστηκὸς πολὺ πλέον ἡγούμενοι εἶναι ἢ ὅσον ἐτύγχανεν ὂν ἡσσῶντο ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ ἐξευρεῖν αὐτοὶ <u>ἀδύνατοι ὄντες</u> διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀγνωσίαν οὐχ εἶχον <u>αὐτοὶ ἐξευρεῖν</u>
>
> αὐτοὶ ἀδύνατοι G E F A B M: αὐτὸ C || alterum διὰ om. CG || αὐτοὶ ἐξευρεῖν om. CG (ἐξευρεῖν mg. G[1]): αὐτὸ M Pf

I have kept the apparatus simple for the sake of clarity in the main point. I doubt that this is misleading, even though the sentence so teems with mechanical corruption that each MS has nonsense. For if one studies *all* the disagreements, they reinforce one's impression that, on the point now to be discussed, *alpha* is nearer the truth.[11]

. . . (καὶ . . .); i.e. Astyochus did two main things ἅμα . . . τε: betrayed Phrynichus; attached himself to Tiss.), and each of those two main things are then subdivided (by τε || καί and by καί).

[11] ἢ ὅσον ἐτύγχανεν ὂν Pi Portus: ἢ ὅσον ἦν ἐτύγχανεν ὃ ἦν M: ἢ ἐτύγχανεν ὃ ἦν CGEFAB | ἡσσῶντο] ἡττῶντο B: ἧσσόν τε AEF: ἧσσόν τι H.

Now, Pi alone (probably representing *Xi*) is right to have ἐτύγχανεν ὄν. Perhaps C alone is right to have ἐξευρεῖν αὐτὸ. Probably CG are right to omit αὐτοὶ ἐξευρεῖν (and perhaps even διὰ). M alone is right to have ἢ ὅσον; and M Pf are perhaps right to

Here again Classen (followed by Steup) thought that we have two drafts conflated by the first redactor. For it seemed hardly enough to excise αὐτο(ὶ) ἐξευρεῖν (as Jones); for in that case, to a reader or listener, ἐξευρεῖν αὐτὸ [C] ἀδύνατοι ὄντες must inevitably seem to go together, and εἶχον is left hanging in air. (Thus far Andrewes, *HCT* ad loc., rightly.) Therefore, Stahl and Hude supposed a lacuna after εἶχον; and for this same reason Schwartz excised ἀδύνατοι ὄντες.

But we have just seen how *mechanical* is the other corruption in this sentence. I doubt there is either a gloss or a conflation. Surely Arnold was right to suspect that ἀδύνατοι is used absolutely (as at 7.14.2, 6.85.1, 7.28.4); for this posits a minimum of corruption (see below) and gives excellent sense: "*And being helpless because of the size of the city and mutual ignorance, they could not get to the bottom of the thing.*"[12]

But in order to obtain this meaning it is not enough simply (as Arnold) to print the text with commas: καὶ ἐξευρεῖν αὐτὸ, ἀδύνατοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀγνωσίαν, οὐχ εἶχον [αὐτοὶ ἐξευρεῖν]. Thuc. could not depend on modern typography, and the adj. and inf. must still inevitably seem to go together. Rather, we have two alternatives: (A) καὶ [**ἐξευρεῖν αὐτοὶ**] ἀδύνατοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀγνωσίαν, οὐκ εἶχον **αὐτὸ ἐξευρεῖν**, or (B) καὶ **ἐξευρεῖν**, αὐτοὶ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀγνωσίαν, οὐκ εἶχον [**αὐτοὶ ἐξευρεῖν**]. In either case, there never was any "gloss," but the paradosis betrays either mechanical omission, followed by a double reinsertion (see Chapter X, section 5) or more probably dittography (which works either backwards or forwards: Ch. X, sections 2–3; on the possible line-length here in a proexemplar, ibid. section 4).

8.66.4–5: *Various Ways of Saying in Greek "no one could trust anyone"*:

> 1)(A) κατὰ δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ προσολοφύρασθαί τινι ἀγανακτήσαντα, ὥστε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιβουλεύσαντα, ἀδύνατον ἦν· (B) ἢ γὰρ ἀγνῶτα ἂν εὗρεν ᾧ ἐρεῖ ἢ γνώριμον ἄπιστον.
>
> 2)(A) ἀλλήλοις γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπόπτως προσῄεσαν οἱ τοῦ δήμου, (B) ὡς μετέχοντά τινα τῶν γιγνομένων.
>
> 3)(A) ἐνῆσαν γὰρ καὶ οὓς οὐκ ἄν ποτέ τις ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν τράπεσθαι, (B) καὶ τὸ ἄπιστον οὗτοι μέγιστον πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν.

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have αὐτὸ. Thus—though they too have incredible mistakes—we get closest to the truth with Pi Pf CG and M; or in other words, *beta* is here most palpably corrupt (see how it corrupts even ἡσσῶντο).

[12] It thus means ἀμήχανοι, a word that is not found in Thuc.

4)(A) καὶ πλεῖστα ἐς τὴν τῶν ὀλίγων ἀσφάλειαν ὠφέλησαν, (B) βέβαιον τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καταστήσαντες.

membrum (3B) del. Stahl: πρὸς <τοὺς ἀλλήλους> τοῖς πολλοῖς Herw.: ἄπορον pro ἄπιστον Dobree: ἄλλους pro πολλοὺς Goodhart

There are two problems: apparent tautology between 3 (B) and 4 (B), and the difficulty of πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς: for the preposition ought to have the same meaning as it does in 4 (B).

If we are to emend, Herwerden's conjecture seems best both in sense and because one can see a cause of omission. The worst is that of Stahl who fails to see that we need οὗτοι, and that—as Andrewes says—τὸ ἄπιστον is *not a glossator's language.* On the other hand, neither is 4 (B) a glossator's language.

Now if we keep the paradosis and suppose that Thuc. really did mean, "And it was they who most created suspicion of the many"—or if we suppose that πρὸς really could mean "among"—or if we we accept Herwerden's, Dobree's or Goodhart's conjecture—in *any* case we seem in this place almost palpably confronted with a somewhat tautological "rough draft"; and it should be studied, as showing how Thucydides' proceeded, groping for antitheses, which he has not yet wholly differentiated.[13] For it is not only these two clauses 3 (B) and 4 (B) that repeat the same thought: it appears in effect four times. Note that, in a way, the repeated thought is not the most important one: in each pair of clauses (2, 3, 4) it is the other clause (regardless whether participial or finite) that actually adds something.

This is one of those many places here and in book 5 that, as Andrewes says elsewhere, leave many readers with a "strong subjective impression" of unfinished work; yet the passage is also (as he says here ad loc.) a vivid and convincing "piece of political analysis."

8.68.1–2 (q.v. in Ch. II, 11 fin., Ch. VI fin.) One clause in this has already been discussed; the present note concerns the whole sentence. In view of what has just been said of 8.66, it may seem that one should exercise a similar caution here. But as was said above about Book 8 in general, analogies are treacherous. Each passage has a kind of roughness; but it differs in texture and in its causes. In 8.68 there is real disagreement in the hyparchetypes (Ch. II, 11); and we found in it both mechanical omission and intrusion of a paraphrase.

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[13] Cf. Arnold, "But this is one of the passages that Thuc. would probably have corrected had he ever finished his work." Cf. here below on 8.71.1.

But there is perhaps a third kind of corruption. Such at least was the opinion of Schwartz (*Das Geschichtswerk* 362), who thought that by inserting a finite verb and two conjunctions, someone destroyed a beautiful kind of climax in which Antiphon rises from λογογράφος to orator in the same sentence, which is constructed wholly of participles. Now one of the conjunctions—καὶ [del. Schwartz] αὐτός τε—has already been vindicated; and the other—ἀλλ' ὑπόπτως—might also be sound, since Valla's translation implies that a participle was lost. And no doubt an editor should ignore Schwartz's main excision too. But the idea is striking still (my own change merely enhances it) and seems worth spelling out here. I print the text as emended in Ch. 2. By typographical devices I show, as it were, the grammatical skeleton, which is satisfyingly symmetrical:

> ὁ μέντοι ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα ξυνθεὶς ὅτῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη ἐς τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐπιμεληθεὶς Ἀντιφῶν ἦν, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν
>
> ἀρετῇ ΤΕ οὐδενὸς ὕστερος καὶ κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι γενόμενος καὶ ἃ γνοίη εἰπεῖν,
>
> ΚΑΙ ἐς μὲν δῆμον οὐ παριὼν οὐδ' ἐς ἄλλον ἀγῶνα ἑκούσιος οὐδένα
> ἀλλ' ὑπόπτως τῷ πλήθει διὰ δόξαν δεινότητος διακείμενος <. . . ? . . .>,
> τοὺς *μέντοι* ἀγωνιζομένους καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ πλεῖστα εἷς ἀνὴρ ὅστις ξυμβουλεύσαιτό τι δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν,[14]
>
> ΚΑΙ αὐτός τε ἐπειδὴ [μετέστη ἡ δημοκρ.] καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα κατέστη τά <τε> τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοῦ ἐκακοῦτο,
> ἄριστα [φαίνεται] τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων αἰτιαθεὶς ὡς ξυγκατέστησε θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος.

At 8.71.1 the oligarchs have sent messengers to Agis, to ask him to make terms with them and not with the people (I underline what Dobree excises):

> ὁ δὲ νομίζων τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν οὐδ' εὐθὺς οὕτω τὸν δῆμον τὴν παλαιὰν ἐλευθερίαν παραδώσειν, εἴ τε στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἴδοι σφῶν οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάσειν [-άσειν M· -άσειν ex -άσει factum Γ], οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι πάνυ τι πιστεύων μὴ οὐκέτι ταράσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς. . . .:
> ἀναστασιάσειν pro οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάσειν Goodhart

This tautological apodosis—the larger context of which will be examined later—does really seem impossible, for all the reasons given

[14] The corresponsion is μὲν . . . οὐδ' . . . (cf. Denniston 191, where add this example) answered by καὶ ἐν . . . καὶ ἐν . . .; then οὐ . . . ἀλλ' . . .; and μέντοι does not answer μὲν but resumes ἀλλ', exactly like Valla's *tamen*.

here by Steup, who is right to remark that it would look strange even as a "rough draft." He thinks the situation hopeless and so proposes nothing; and Jones prints the paradosis, perhaps in the belief that (as at 8.68.2 in his opinion) an editor has conflated two alternative versions of the sentence. But we have seen elsewhere in this study that a crude verbatim repetition of this type usually betokens mechanical error; and I suggest that no one has fully grasped what Dobree proposes.

> Possis οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάζειν, vel οὐχ ἡσυχάσειν. Sed constat vel has quatuor voces, vel istas tres mox sequentes οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάσειν, e vv. ll. ortas [whereas Stahl thought that they had crept in from a note on ἐν τῷ παρόντι κ.τ.λ.]. Malim νομίζων οὔτ' εὐθὺς . . . σφῶν, οὐχ ἡσυχάσειν. (Dobree apud Poppo).

Now Dobree, followed by many editors, has probably excised the right verb, for the excision brings a drastic increase of clarity (on which see below); but he seems wrong about the origin of the corruption. For it probably began as a mechanical repetition by anticipation. What seems roughly the right text is printed below. It was corrupted in one of two ways which are both spelled out in Chapter X, section 4: in either case, a strong *hoimoiotes* caused the infinitive to be copied several lines too soon. A similar thing happened with παρέπλει at 8.24.3 (q.v.): there too the mechanically interpolated verb was not deleted, but ended up both in the right and in the wrong place. But there, there was no need of further interpolation; whereas here the transposed verb obviously required a subect, and since the corrector would scarcely have wished to repeat τὸν δῆμον, τὴν πόλιν was interpolated. This explains the unpleasant change of subject that, rightly, editors mistrust in the paradosis.

Excision of the first verb seems in three main ways to illuminate the sentence. (1) We thus abolish not only the change of subject, and the verbatim repetition, but also the tautology οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν . . . οὐκέτι ταράσσεσθαι. For there is now no gross repetition in thought, but a contrast between an imagined future and the actual present. (2) We thus account for the epithet πολλὴν about which Poppo (who reads οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάζειν) has a long troubled note. For the army *will* be large, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, after Agis has added to it.

Note that 1 and 2 together give much greater point to ἐν τῷ παρόντι: that phrase contrasts with his *present* force the more formidable one which he has in mind to bring. Note also the greater point given to

οὕτω, which now is contrasted, in a kind of *variatio*, with the conditional clause.

Above all (3) the *sentence as a whole* becomes far clearer; for it is elaborately chiastic, in Thucydides' peculiar manner. Agis feels he has two factors to consider: (A) the purely internal strife of the city (the 400 vs the demos: τὸ ἔνδοθεν θορυβόν) and (B) the confusion caused by his own presence (Agis vs Athens: τὸ ἔξωθεν θορυβόν); and further, (A) and (B) have each two aspects (reflected in the tenses of the infinitives): present and future. Thus (assuming that the future infinitive is right):

> ὁ δὲ νομίζων . . . **(A)** οὔ⌜τ⌝ εὐθὺς οὕτω τὸν δῆμον τὴν παλαιὰν ἐλευθερίαν παραδώσειν, εἴ τε στρατίαν πολλὴν ἴδοι σφῶν οὐχ ἡσυχάσειν, **(B)** οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι πάνυ τι πιστεύων μὴ οὐκέτι ταράσσεσθαι αὐτούς,
> **(A)** τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐλθοῦσιν οὐδὲν ξυμβατικὸν ἀπεκρίνατο,
> **(B)** προσμεταπεμψάμενος δὲ ἐκ Πελ. στρατιὰν πολλὴν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελίας φρουρᾷ μετὰ τῶν ἐλθόντων κατέβη πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη τῶν Αθ.,
> ἐλπίσας **(B)** ἢ ταραχθέντας αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἂν χειρωθῆναι †ᾗ βούλονται†, **(A)** ἢ καί αὐτοβοεὶ ἂν διὰ τὸν ἔνδοθέν *τε καὶ* κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γενησόμενον ἔξωθεν θορυβόν· τῶν γὰρ μακρῶν τειχῶν διὰ τὴν κατ' αὐτὰ ἐρημίαν λήψεως οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτανεῖν.[15]

I.e. the clauses οὔτε . . . and εἴ τε . . . anticipate τὸν ἔνδοθεν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν θορυβόν; ταραχθέντες answers ταράσσεσθαι; and as very often elsewhere, as e.g. in the description of Brasidas closing in on Amphipolis, the invader seems all the more formidable for the majesty of the "period" that presents him.

According to Andrewes (*HCT* ad loc.) these repetitions are "unattractive;" "and though ἐλπίσας, κ.τ.λ., at the end adds some new detail . . ., it also repeats Agis' thoughts at the beginning of the sentence in a way uncharacteristic of Thucydides." Now, this is badly expressed;[16] but there is truth in it; for the central antithesis is, in a

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[15] With the corruption from οὔτ' to οὐδ' cf. 8.9.2 where B in consequence of its having omitted 59 letters "emends" μηδ' to μήτ' (cf. e.g. Young *GRBS* 6 [1965] 267); or conceivably οὐδ' = οὐ καὶ (Denniston 195–6) = τε.

Like Dover (*HCT* ad loc.) I see no great problem in γάρ, which demands that we again understand χειρωθῆναι. The phrase I daggered may well be sound; I feel unsure exactly what it means. (As is suggested below, these kinds of ambiguity may be due to the fact that this is a rough draft.)

[16] "Badly expressed" because, of course, such repetition is very characteristic of Thucydides. For such "ring composition" (as scholars tend now to call it) see e.g. Hammond *CQ* 46 (1952) 127–141 passim, Rusten on 2.14–16. Cf. in Ch. VIII on various sentences, e.g. the whole of 7.69.2, which is akin to the present example in its elaborateness, exactness and subtlety.

way, too slight to support such a "period." The two "contrasted" things which I designated "A" and "B" are distinct in reality, and in Thucydides' imagination, but very easy to miss in the sentence itself. The cause perhaps is that, as elsewhere in this book (cf. above on 8.66.4–5), the passage may well be unfinished still.

There is no paradox in this. Andrewes himself has acutely remarked (*HCT* V. 373, 382, apropos of the two portraits of Theramenes) that Thucydides' mere "first drafts" were probably very elaborate and antithetical. Of this the present sentence, which seems nobly constructed and yet somewhat pallid and verbose, would be a good example.

Admittedly, there is danger even here that one is not correcting copyists, but "helping" Thuc. But the paradosis here (as at 8.68.2 μετέστη κ.τ.λ.) has a kind of palpable strangeness that seems best ascribed to the kind of corruption common in this book. To accept it is to admit that Thuc. left the sentence indeed "unfinished." But since the emendation, not very bold and based on a common and clearly envisaged corruption, alone produces good sense, that pessimism seems needless.

I print the text of 8.76.5 as emended by Schwartz, with his comments (I add the brief apparatus):

> 8.76.5 (in dem Raisonnement der attischen Demokraten in Samos) καί δι' ἑαυτοὺς [τε] ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ προκαθημένους καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν τοῦ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἔσπλου καὶ νῦν [ἐς τοιοῦτον καταστήσονται], μή βουλομένων [βουλόμενοι C, falsch] σφίσι πάλιν τὴν πόλιν ἀποδοῦναι, [ὥστε αὐτοὶ B, ὥστε αὐτοὶ καὶ cett.] δυνατώτεροι εἶναι εἴργειν ἐκείνους τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἴργεσθαι. Der nicht verstandene Nom. c. inf. hat den Einschub veranlasst.
>
> τοιοῦτον B: τοσοῦτο(ν) cett. || ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ M || ". . . καὶ νῦν <ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐλπίδα εἶναι, ὡς προσλάβοντες καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαμίων κοινὸν> ἐς τοιοῦτον καταστήσονται" coni. Haas (102) exempli gratia, monens "sed haec atque talia omnia ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυνεύεται"

Now the anacolouthon, though Arnold thinks it expressive, seems crude and improbable. Also, interestingly, we do have a grammatical "correction" by C. But this idea of Schwartz's, that some Corrector was confused by a basic rule of Greek grammar, is still more improbable. (Also, one would expect this same *homunculus* to betray himself elsewhere—e.g. elsewhere in this same long piece of indirect speech—but he does not.)

Most editors change the verb to infinitive or, more plausibly, suppose a small lacuna. The smallest is that of Herwerden (*Mnemos.* 1880

172–3) who reads, καὶ νῦν, <εἰ> ἐς τοιοῦτον καταστήσονται, μὴ βουλομένων σφίσι πάλιν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδοῦναι, [ὥστε] αὐτοὶ κτλ. Of all conjectures this does least damage, it makes the best sense, and it best enables us to see why, perhaps, someone inserted ὥστε. For when εἰ had been lost, "magistelli non intelligentes verba ἐς τοιοῦτον καταστήσονται pertinere ad belligerandi cum civibus necessitatem, de suo addiderunt ὥστε, ut iungi posset τοιοῦτον ὥστε . . . εἶναι, sed ita funditus perdidere sententiam."[17]

In this book I have deliberately ignored tiny "interpolations" of particles; the following instance may stand for a great many places where (as in the preceding example) editors too rashly excise a connective:[18]

> 8.80.3 καὶ αἱ μὲν τῶν Πελοποννησίων αὗται νῆες ἀπάρασαι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ὅπως λάθοιεν ἐν τῷ πλῷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, χειμασθεῖσαι <u>καὶ</u> <**πλανειθεῖσαι**>, αἱ μὲν Δήλου λαβόμεναι αἱ πλείους μετὰ Κλεάρχου καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν ἐλθοῦσαι ἐς Μίλητον < . . . > (Κλέαρχος δὲ κατὰ γῆν αὖθις ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον κομισθεὶς ἦρχεν), αἱ δὲ μετὰ Ἑλίξου τοῦ Μεγαρέως στρατηγοῦ δέκα ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διασωθεῖσαι Βυζάντιον ἀφιστᾶσι.

About the main problem here, Stahl is probably right: "post Μίλητον exciderunt ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινον vel similia." But that leaves the problem of καὶ which he therefore (comparing 3.69.1 quoted below) excises. I conjecture πλανειθεῖσαι, basing this on 8.32.1 καὶ **χειμασθεισῶν** <u>καὶ</u> <u>πλανειθεισῶν</u> (B solus) τῶν νεῶν ὕστερον ἀφικνοῦνται ἄλλαι ἄλλοθεν ἐς τὴν Χίον, and 3.69.1 αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἱ Λεσβίοις βοηθοὶ ἐλθοῦσαι, ὡς τότε φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἔκ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ **χειμασθεῖσαι** <u>καὶ</u> ἀπ' **αὐτῆς σποράδες** πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατηνέχθησαν, κτλ. Here too Stahl (along with Classen, Steup, and Hude) excises καὶ—but here too he is wrong (for the *variatio* see Jan Ros 161).

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[17] Note also that this justifies τε. But *here* at least this word *magistelli* is not apt! Many modern conjectures are no better than this. If Herwerden is right about the omission, our Byzantines did a good job, since Arnold and Jones accept their text. If Herwerden is wrong then he himself, who made his own text "praesertim in usum scholarum," is exactly a *magistellus.*

[18] It is true that mistakes with particles are the easiest for copyists to make, both from mechanical and mental causes (see e.g. the lists of errors collected by Douglas Young). All the same, their emendation should be cautious because, very often, they alone they point to an omission, and also because by erasing one queerness we can deprive of support a dozen similar places. Thucydides' use of particles—especially τε—seems often extremely idiosyncratic; and I suspect that the OCT deletes or emends wrongly in two dozen places at least.

8.89.4 ἠγωνίζετο δ' οὖν εἷς ἕκαστος <εἰς?> ὑπερβολὴν αὐτὸς πρῶτος προστάτης τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι. hab. ὑπερβολὴν C G E Ud Pl (?i.e. *Alpha*: cf. App. V, 2): ἐς ὑπερβολὴν aut ὑπερβολῇ Ar O Pg Pi (bene Valla "certatim igitur annitebatur unusquisque ut ipse *potissimum* in populo princeps existeret"): om. M F A B (i.e. *Beta*).[19]

Hobbes (using as always the old "vulgate" text of Portus): "and thereupon they every one contended who should most eminently become the patron of the people." Cp. 8.89.3 ἀξιοῦσι οὐχ ὅπως ἴσοι ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εἶναι (Hobbes: "For at once they claimed every one not to be equal but to be far the chief.") For the word cf. 2.45 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς, 3.82.3 πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας (note the "pleonasm"), 6.31.6; and LSJ s.v. I.4 Euripides and Antiphon, εἰς ὑπερβολήν and in the dative, meaning "exceedingly."

All modern editors delete the word without discussion. This is usually ominous; and to accept the word may seem perverse, since even without it editors have wished to delete either πρῶτος or προστάτης (thus Herwerden on 2.65.2; but cf. Dover's good note, *HCT* ad loc.). Yet Thuc. is fond of cannonades of superlatives, which can scarcely be translated, but which are only at first sight pleonastic; for they are differentiated in the grammar.[20] In view of all this and of the MS evidence, surely we should take ἐς ὑπερβολήν with προστάτης and translate as Valla. And most simply, the word seems unintelligible as a gloss; but if we suppose that before it εἰς was lost (through confusion with εἷς shortly before), it might easily have been omitted, as unintelligible, in *beta*.

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[19] I use the current sigla, but I take information about the recc. from Arnold's apparatus. Pl and Ud are the two purest *psi* texts: cf. Alberti's diagram, *Historiae* p. lxxxv; on C G E Pl Ud K, cf. Alberti xcii (but unlike me, he assumes that this is an agreement in error). On Pi and Valla see above Ch. VI init.

One would be glad to know exactly *which* recc. have ἐς ὑπερβολὴν. These MSS are so contaminated (see App. V ad fin.) that the reading could have come from any or all of *Psi*, *alpha* and *Xi*. All one can say for sure is that only *beta* omitted it.

[20] Another putative gloss excised on these grounds is at 4.55.3 ἔς τε τὰ πολεμικά, εἴπερ ποτέ, μάλιστα δὴ ὀκνηρότεροι ἐγένοντο. Here Rutherford follows Cobet who exclaimed (*Variae Lect.* 450), "quicumque εἴπερ ποτέ quam vim habeat intellegit insulsum glossema sine more delebit." I suppose that ὀκνηρότεροι means not (as Graves) "more backward than ever" but "more cautious than the Athenians," "the more cautious of the two sides" ("compendious comparison"); and that the whole clause means, "if they had ever been too cautious, they now became especially so." I.e. μάλιστα δὴ goes with the verb, εἴπερ ποτέ with the verbal adjective. Similarly 8.68.3 παρέσχε . . . ἑαυτὸν πάντων διαφερόντως προθυμότατον (he more than anyone showed himself most zealous; or as Andrewes: "Phrynichus surpassed the others who might have been called προθυμώτατοι"), 8.86.4 (reading πρῶτος, as e.g. Schwartz) and often elsewhere.

8.101.2 seems a very plain instance of bad editing based on rash assumption of "interpolation." But this passage, abnormally corrupt, is instructive for other reasons:

> 8.101.2 καὶ προσβαλόντες τῆς Φωκαΐδος ἐς τὸν ἐν Καρτερίοις λιμένα καὶ ἀριστοποιησάμενοι,
> παραπλεύσαντες τὴν Κύμαιαν (περαιοῦνται GEFAB: om. C, edd.)
> <τὸν κόλπον τὸν 'Ελαιτικὸν καὶ τὴν νύκτα
> ἀναμενόντες coni. Gertz>) (δειπνοποιοῦνται C, edd.: om. GEFAB)
> ἐς 'Αργινούσαις τῆς ἠπείρου ἐν τῷ ἀντιπέρας
> τῆς Μυτιλήνης. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔτι πολλῆς νυκτὸς
> παραπλεύσαντες [τὴν Κύμαιαν om. C] καὶ ἀφικόμενοι (κτλ.)
> (περαιοῦνται . . . τὴν Κύμαιαν om. M)[21]

At least four unpleasant things happened here.[22] (1) Because of the strong *homoiotes* παραπλεύσαντες—which probably coincided with the beginnings or ends of lines (see Ch. X)—a copyist repeated τὴν Κύμαιαν, and the interpolation went unnoticed. This intrusion strengthened the *homoiotes*, so that later (2) it caused an ancestor of M to omit three lines of 36 letters apiece! Meanwhile—perhaps prior to those two events—because of the different *homoiotes* -οῦνται, (3) several lines were omitted, of which C and *beta* each, for some reason, retain a different word. Lastly, (4) modern editors (Gertz excepted) accept one of those two remnants and delete the other, not caring that their "interpolation" has neither a motive nor a mechanical cause.

Partly, no doubt, it is because C avoids the dittography of (1) that its δειπνοποιοῦνται (cf. Valla, "cenavere") had more staying-power than *beta*'s περαιοῦνται. C's text not only makes better sense: it is also purer. Compare 8.68.2 (q.v., Ch. II fin.): there too the CG text

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Andrewes on 8.68.3 seems to protest against such merely grammatical differentiations: for by "modifying" a word auxiliary to the verb, the comparative/superlative adverb does anyway, in effect, again modify the verb. He fails to see that he himself here, in effect, makes this distinction. I think that to Greek speakers it was real even when, for us, it is scarcely translatable. It seems clearest in many cases of so-called "pleonastic" comparative; e.g. 7.29.5 where Dover gets it exactly right: one comparative is attributive, the other predicative.

[21] Gertz's supplement is given *exempli gratia*; but he wrote it paying careful heed to the geography of this passage. As for the M omission, compare other examples in App. I, lists 1–2. Here only I warn of a phenomenon that happens often: editors, printing C's text, naturally describe the omission as "δειπνοποιοῦντες . . . παραπλεύσαντες om. M." That is right but—as similarly at 8.68.2 (q.v.)—very misleading, since whoever made this omission was using a *beta* text. For not only does the stemma make this probable, but the mechanics of error makes it certain.

[22] Five things, if Krüger is right to think τῆς ἠπείρου an intrusive gloss! I list these events not necessarily in chronological order (see below).

looks better, because it avoids two things that do seem intrusive, viz. μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία and μετὰ; but there too one of *beta*'s supplements seems authentic.

Beyond this, analysis seems defeated, the truth hidden now. At 8.68.2, partly in deference to the stemma, we supposed that CG reflects the archetype *Theta*, while *beta*'s version came from its collation exemplar, *Lambda*. Here this model does not seem quite to "work." As at some other places (e.g. 1.39.3–1.40), one feels a pang of suspicion that *Theta* itself may have had *all* the variants, and been more copiously annotated than our stemma allows for.[23]

Summary. The sentences discussed above seem a fair sampling of the kind of "interpolation" which abounds in Book 8, and which now and then can be x-rayed with the help of Valla, *Omega*, the *psi* MSS or the papyri. Of these dozen or so sentences, gloss-like and/or conjectural intrusion seems likeliest in 8.23.5, 8.24.5 and 8.68.2 (μετέστη ἡ δημ., φαίνεται); in every other place it looks improbable. 8.10.1 and 8.50.3 seem basically sound but misinterpreted; elsewhere, a rash diagnosis of interpolation results from purely mechanical, crudely mended error, viz. dittography (8.66.3, 8.71.1) and especially omission (8.68.1–2, the lacunae suggested by Valla; 8.76.4; 8.80.3 as at 3.69.1; 8.89.4; 8.101.2).

In any given place, one's diagnosis is impossible now to prove, and what one sees depends on what one is looking for. But this need not convict an analyst of entire "subjectivity." I think my impression supported both by Appendix I (on omissions of some MSS) and by the next chapter on dittography, for these largely deal with demonstrable, very abundant facts.

[23] Generally, it is undesirable to complicate the stemma. Here I mistrust it in part because the dittography (event [1] above) seems to have occurred in a proexemplar common to all MSS; for the lineation which it implies is closely similar to that of other instances occurring in all MSS (see Ch. X, 3; see there especially the discussion of 8.23.4).

CHAPTER TEN

UNCONSCIOUS INTERPOLATION[1]

> est in codicibus ... quaedam peccandi velut constantia solentque τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἁμαρτάνειν, et quo quis plura de genere hoc aut ipse reppererit aut ab aliquo reperta in promptu habeat, eo ad verum inveniendum accedit paratior.
>
> Cobet

I here examine various related, perhaps overlapping but not identical phenomena. Some have already been suggested as possibilities elsewhere in this book; but I here gather all the evidence for each of them, in order to suggest its exact causes, its nature and its frequency.

1. "MECHANICAL" ERRORS OF THE EAR. In the first place, what sometimes appears to be a conscious "gloss" may be in fact the unconscious repetition of a sound that has occurred shortly before.[2] I give first three examples from *Theta*-copies. At 2.56.1 after ἐς τὴν παραλίαν ἐλθεῖν codd. M E F A B add γῆν, possibly not as a gloss but by influence of 55.1 ἐς τὴν Πάραλον γῆν. At 2.83.5 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Πελ. ἐτάξοντο (κτλ) . . . ὅπως **ἐκπλέοιεν** διὰ βραχέος παραγιγνόμενοι, εἴ πῃ προσπλέοιον (M E F A B grG: προσπίπτοιεν C G recte) οἱ ἐναντίοι, the corruption could be a visual error of the type described in sections 2 and 4 below, but seems more probably aural.[3] But very plain seems 7.18.2 ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν, ἣν δίκας φέρωσι διδόναι (thus C): θέλωσι G M E F A B: ἐθέλωσι recc. & edd.

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[1] On the one hand, as was said in the Introduction, this phrase is a contradiction in terms; on the other, it could be seen as tautological, since after all most interpolation is "unconscious." For any copyist who mistakes a gloss for a piece of text, or a correction, acts unconsciously. Still, the phrase will have to do, and one generally knows at once what is meant by it.

[2] I.e. we have a "mechanical" error of the ear, not of the eye. Of course, these distinctions are not perfect, and now and then such a mistake may seem less "mechanical" than "mental." Cf. e.g. West, *Textual Criticism* 21–2.

[3] When the error is plainly visual, then the line-lengths become of interest. Those here approximate the unit discussed in section 4 below. But perhaps in the present place we should see reflected the lineation not of a *Theta*-ancestor (as in section 4) but of a *beta*-exemplar.

At 6.1.1 for the true reading πλεύσαντες cod. M has πέμψαντες, probably because of 5.116.4 πέμψαντες. At 6.62.5 H² alone has the truth περιέπεμψαν: cett. περιέπλευσαν, probably by influence of 62.3–4 περιέπλευσαν and παραπλεύσας. And at 8.43.1 cod. B may well have προσπλεύσαντες for προσλάβοντες not, as Hude thought, as a gloss but because the next word is ἀπέπλευσαν, while πλεύσαντες occurs shortly before.

A particularly clear instance is at 6.55.2 εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτατον **πρῶτον** γῆμαι. καὶ ἐν τῇ <u>πρώτῃ</u> στήλῃ **πρῶτος** γέγραπται: αὐτῇ H², Poppo (ex Vallae trad.) et omnes edd. Another is at 6.64.3 ἐκείνους δὲ ῥαδίως τὸ **στράτευμα** προσβαλόντας τῷ **σταυρώματι** αἱρήσειν where C G have **στρατεύματι**. Herwerden, if he had noticed the latter example, would have adduced it apropos of his conjecture, which editors have ignored, at 6.100.1. There the Athenians divide their attack on the Syracusan counter-wall into two parts, τριακοσίους μὲν ... πρὸς τὸ ὑποτείχισμα, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὰ δίχα, ἡ μὲν ... πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἡ δὲ ... πρὸς τὸ σταύρωμα τὸ παρὰ τὴν πυλίδα. καὶ προσβαλόντες οἱ τριακόσιοι αἱροῦσι τὸ <u>σταύρωμα</u> (κτλ.). Whether or not he is right about the interpolation, Herwerden's comment is worth quoting (*Mnemos.* n.s. 8 [1880] 166):

> Prorsus incredibile est quod sumunt interpretes Thucydidem, nisi forte id egisse censendus est ut quam obscurrimam redderet narrationem. . . . Manifestum mihi videtur Thucydidem dedisse αἱροῦσι τὸ ὑποτείχισμα, sed somnolentum librarium pro eo substituisse vocabulum sibi ἔναυλον e versu praegresso σταύρωμα. Paene doleo hominem mox intactum reliquisse τὸ προτείχισμα, persuasum enim habeo paucos errorem hodie esse animadversuros, pauciores correcturos.

2. Errors of the eye skipping backwards. I.e. our text has repetitions, caused by the fact that a copyist's eye has slipped back (most often by *saut du même au même*) to words already copied. These are usually termed "interpolations" and, though wholly mechanical, are often mistaken for deliberate insertions by copyists. They sometimes resemble, and perhaps overlap with, the "errors of the ear" discussed above. Cod. M exhibits particularly many and instructive instances of it (see App. I, list 2) and E F A B do it plainly at 8.58.6 where, from obvious causes, κωλύειν is repeated from 58.4 (i.e. from well over 300 letters—or 9 lines of the finely printed OCT—before!). Most often, it is hard to prove that the tradition itself has words interpolated from this cause; for even when this or that word is certainly

interpolated, the error might be "mental" in origin, or (as in section 5 below) it might result from a word having been first omitted then wrongly reinserted. I give two such doubtful examples. At 3.103.1 a copyist's eye has skipped, perhaps, over 45 letters: καὶ ὅσοι Σικελῶν ἀρχόμενοι ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων καὶ ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἀποστάντες αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων ξυμπολέμουν: recte secl. Kistemaker, Herw., Hude, Jones alii.[4] At 3.21.2 the eye has skipped perhaps over 46 letters: διεῖχον δὲ οἱ περίβολοι ἑκκαίδεκα πόδας μάλιστα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες τοῖς φύλαξιν οἰκήματα διανενημένα ᾠκοδόμητο: non vertit Valla, recte secl. Herwerden, Hude, Jones, alii. Both phrases do seem false; but each is usually assumed to be an intrusive gloss, and that cannot be disproven.

But there are some extremely probable instances; for example, in a passage discussed in Ch. IX above:

8.101.2 ΠΑΡΑΠΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ
ΤΗΝ ΚΥΜΑΙΑΝ ΠΕΡΑΙΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΡΓΙΝΟΥΣΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ (37 letters[5])
ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΑΝΤΙΠΕΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΗΣ ΕΝ- (35)
ΤΕΥΘΕΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΙ ΠΟΛΛΗΣ ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΠΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ (37)
[ΤΗΝ ΚΥΜΑΙΑΝ] καὶ ἀφικόμενοι (κτλ.) (om. recte C solus)

Thus, a copyist's eye skipped back several lines so that he began repeating the line τὴν Κύμαιαν (κτλ.) which he had already written, then noticed his mistake and went on writing at the right place; and his mark of deletion (if he made one) was later overlooked. The strong *hoimoiotes* that might have caused the error is obvious.[6]

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[4] C omits some of these same words, doubtless by coincidence (see App. I, list 6), and EFAB have Συρακουσιων (sic.). What, I think, above all condemns the phrase is the way in which it intervenes between αὐτοῖς and ξυμπολέμουν which plainly go together.

[5] Always in these examples I count letters; for their possible significance see section 4 below; with the number of letters here skipped compare the next example.

[6] Viz. παραπλεύσαντες . . . παραπλεύσαντες. On the term *hoimoiotes*, by which I mean a similar constellation of letters, see the introduction to Appendix I. On corrector's marks see section 5 below. (But often perhaps the marks were small—or nonexistent—because a copyist did not wish to spoil the fair appearance of his page.)

The phenomenon is fairly common in Aristotle MSS; see Newman II pp. xvi–xvii: about a dozen such errors in one of the two *Politics* hyparchetypes, half a dozen in the other. Most often the word repeated displaces (i.e. causes omission of) a word; and—ominously—*the inflection has usually been adapted to its new context.*

Too often, even simple instances go unremarked even by good critics; e.g. even by Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism* p. 39: "*Unnoticed corruption.* Plato *Symp.* 201 d has ὦ φιλούμενε 'Αγάθων. Pap.Oxy. 843 of the *saec.* 2 A.D. (publ. 1907) produced the reading φίλε. No one had noticed that φιλούμενος = φίλος is singular. It is true the corruption remains unexplained." But the explanation is obvious: . . . ΩΣ ΣΥ ΛΕΓ ΕΙΣ. ΟΥ

Another repetition having this same cause, and occurring after a roughly equal intervening space, was detected by Madvig (*Adv. Crit.* 1. 309). At 2.11.6 ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι *οὕτω* πόλιν ἐρχόμεθα: "tollendum est adv. repetitum e versu altero superiore, ubi item infinitivi passivi terminationi (-εσθαι) subiicitur; eo aberravit oculus librarii": i.e. it was repeated by influence of a collocation which occurs 115 letters earlier (i.e. 115 letters from after -άσθαι to after -εσθαι). This conjecture was later confirmed by a papyrus, and seems to me certain. But Jones does not accept it, nor Tosi (*A & R* 1977 p. 59), and before printing it out to show the mechanics, I review the dispute about the grammar.

Classen, Steup, Krüger, Marchant and Tosi assume that οὕτω modifies ἀδύνατον—a collocation Madvig thinks impossible[7]—and that it means "not so powerless as *some suppose*"—a meaning he thinks unattested; for the parallels always adduced for this vague usage are not quite convincing. Steup compares 5.104 καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν οὕτω ἀλόγως θρασυνόμεθα; but here the adverb is less vague because it refers plainly back to 5.103. Everyone compares 5.59.4 τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος . . . οὐχ οὕτω δεινὸν τὸ παρὸν ἐνόμιζον. This is usually translated either "they thought the present situation not so terrible *as indeed it was*" (so e.g. Hobbes) or ". . . not so very dangerous" (Loeb). But this too is sharper since it refers to the sentences immediately preceding, and seems also to point ahead precisely to τῶν δὲ 'Αργείων δύο ἄνδρες who do see the danger. And neither of these parallels help with the word order. Steup (at 8.71.1) compares 8.71.1 οὐδ' εὐθὺς οὕτω; but that sentence (q.v.) is corrupt, difficult, and doubtfully analogous.

In view of the weakness of the arguments just given, the papyrus reading, and the ease by which the error could have been made, it seems better (as Madvig, Hude, Grenfell, Alberti) to make the excision. In printing it to show the mechanics, we might use the 36- or 37-letter line-length of 8.101.2 quoted above. But of course the lineation in all of these examples is unknown. To vary it, let us suppose the shorter line-length that is common in papyri:

MEN ΟΥΝ ΤΗΙ ΑΛΗΘ ΗΕΙΑΙ, ΦΑΝΑΙ, ΩΦΙΛΟΥΜΕΝΕ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ. Cf. a similar oversight by S. Schierling quoted in section 3 below. Such intrusions go unnoticed either because—as in the example from Maas—they "make sense" by coincidence, or because—as in some of Newman's examples—subsequent copyists have emended slightly.

[7] In this Madvig is surely right. Tosi refers to Schwyzer's Greek grammar II.697: this is not to the point, since there no adverbs follow the word they modify.

. . . στρατεύειν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ
δεδιότας παρασκευάσθαι·
οὕτω γὰρ πρός τε τὸ ἐπιέ- (19
ναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐψυ- (20
χότατοι ἂν εἶεν πρός τε (19
τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι ἀσφα- (19
λέστατοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' (18
ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι (20
[οὕτω] πόλιν ἐρχόμεθα (κτλ.)

Or to humor Bernard Hemmerdinger—who in other places thought he had evidence for a Thuc. proarchetype in uncials having tiny columns of approximately 110 letters apiece, each column having ten lines, each line 11 letters or so[8]—we could print it thus

. . . ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΑΙ·

ΟΥΤΩ ΓΑΡ ΠΡΟΣ 11
ΤΕ ΤΟ ΕΠΙΕΝΑΙ 11
ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΙΣ 13
ΕΥΨΥΧΟΤΑΤΟΙ 11
ΑΝ ΕΙΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕ 12
ΤΟ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΕΙ- 11
ΣΘΑΙ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΣ- 11
ΤΑΤΟΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΔΕ 12
ΟΥΔ' ΕΠΙ ΑΔΥΝΑ- 11

ΤΟΝ ΑΜΥΝΕΣΘΑΙ 12

[ΟΥΤΩ] ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΡ-
ΧΟΜΕΘΑ (κτλ.)

(Or perhaps rather the columns began -ΣΘΑΙ ΟΥΤΩ. . . . -ΣΘΑΙ [ΟΥΤΩ]. . ., since homoioteleuton and homoioarcton are both possible.)

3. Errors of the eye skipping forwards. A copyist's eye may slip not backwards to a preceding, but forwards to a later line, part of which he thus copies too early. A good simple example is given in Clark's study of Cicero MSS that was cited above, Chapter I fin. As was said there, Clark proves that from the MS which he names Σ derive most other extant MSS including W. One proof occurs at Cic. *Pro Rosc.* 39 where W has interpolated, then crossed out, the word which I bracket:

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[8] Hemmerdinger, *Essai* pp. 28–30. He evidently got this bold idea from reading about it passim in Clark's *Descent of Manuscripts* which he cites (loc. cit.). On this see section 4 below.

haec tu non intellegis sed usque eo quid [putes] *arguas non habes ut non modo tibi contra nos dicendum putes.*

In W's ancestor, Σ, *putes* comes in the next line directly under *quid.* So a later copyist, having skipped a line, almost at once noticed his error, and resumed copying at the right place.[9]

Rarely is proof quite so clear; but for MSS of Greek prose, see William Wyse's introduction to Isaeus: there one copyist, like this Cicero copyist, was particularly prone to it.[10] In Thuc. MSS, one certain instance is the M interpolation (of 26 letters) at 4.14–15 (see Appendix I, list 2, last example). Another occurs at 4.16.1 where according to S. Schierling (*RHT* 11 [1981] 385–6) codex *Vi* reads thus (I bracket the repetition, and put in diamond brackets what, on account of this repetition, was omitted):

. . . ἐκπέμπειν
[καὶ πλοῖον μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν λάθρᾳ]
<τάκτον καὶ μεμαγμένον>, δύο χοίνικας ἑκάστῳ 'Αττικὰς 44
ἀλφίτων καὶ δύο κοτύλας οἶνον κρέας, θεραπόντι δὲ τόυ- 43
των ἡμίσεα· ταῦτα δὲ ὁρώντων τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἐσπέμπειν 43
καὶ πλοῖον μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν λάθρα· . . . (27)

Obviously, repetition was caused by the *homoiotes* -πέμπειν.[11]

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[9] Clark, *The Vetus Cluniacensis of Poggio*, p. xii. Here, characteristically of this copyist whose eye was particularly prone to slipping ahead, there was no *homoiotes* to help the error (i.e. no similar constellations of letters, no *saut du même au même).* Most often (though not here) this means that the "jump" coincided with a line-ending.

See Clark p. xii for a list of similar errors. As probably in the case of the M copyist of Thucydides, this W copyist did not himself commit these errors, but inherited them from some predacessor. Most often, that person did not notice his mistake but went on copying after having skipped a line, nor did any Corrector notice: so that by consulting Σ we can repair lacunae.

[10] Wyse xxxviii–ix. He finds at least twelve instances (not all of which are listed in the introduction). "Sometimes the correction is incomplete, the word being added in the right place but not crossed out ['crossed out' usually by erasure] in the wrong place, or erased where it was wrong but not inserted where it was needed." Almost always the addition is of a single word (i.e. the copyist at once noticed his error), but in one case, of three words. Sometimes there is a slight (2- or 3-letter) *homoiotes* that could have caused the slip, most often none.

[11] This example is otherwise instructive, for the characteristically absurd way in which a modern critic has analyzed it. According to Schierling (loc. cit.) it is one of four "unique readings of Vi that deserve consideration" as possibly ancient. He says that it "has all the appearance of someone trying to conjecture a reading that he could not decipher or was not present in his exemplar"! This foolish person "simply borrowed the phrase from four lines above in the text"!

Another of Schierling's four unique readings is this: 8.53.3 . . . εἰ μὴ πολιτεύσομέν τε σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσομεν [recc.: ποιήσαιμεν codd.], ἵνα *πιστεύῃ* ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ μὴ περὶ πολιτείας τὸ πλοῖον πιστεύομεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κ.τ.λ.

As in the case of backwards repetition, it is hard to prove that the tradition itself has words interpolated from this cause; but fairly certain, for example, seem 1.95.1 and 8.90.1 (both quoted below in section 4); also probably 8.66.3 (q.v.); also perhaps 4.37.1 (q.v.). The last I here print out, bracketing the phrase condemned by Classen, Krüger, Stahl and Rutherford (who took it for a gloss of τοῦ κηρύγματος):

> . . . βουλόμενοι ἀγα-
> γεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις ζῶντας,
> εἴ πως τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀκού-
> σαντες ἐπικλασθεῖεν τῇ γνώμῃ
> [τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι]
> καὶ ἡσσηθεῖεν τοῦ παρόντος δει- (26
> νοῦ. ἐκήρυξάν τε, εἰ βούλονται, (24
> **τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι** καὶ σφᾶς αὐ-
> τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις ὥστε βουλεῦσαι
> ὅτι ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ.

Thus possibly—i.e. if the repetition did thus occur at line-beginnings (or -ends)—the copyist's eye leaped ahead two lines; but of course, whether the leap coincided thus with line-beginnings we cannot know.

A probable instance is 8.23.4, a rather odd case. I bracket the words deleted by Jones and others:

> καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν ὁπλίτας πεζῇ 30
> **[παρέπλει]**
> **παραπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν** (35 letters)
> ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον προστάξας· καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς (37)
> τε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς Χίαις (37)
> **παρέπλει [ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν]**, ἐλπίζων, κ.τ.λ.

παραπέμπει B solus [Π^{24}]: παρέπλει cett. | verba seclusa add. CGEFA (om. B, Π^{24}) | ἄρχοντα . . . παρέπλει om. M: πέζῃ καὶ ἄρχοντα τούτοις ἐτεόνικον προστάξας, αὐτὸς (κτλ.) Cn V (i.e. omittunt secundum versum, habent ultimum)[12]

(sic Vi: βουλεύσομεν B recte: βουλεύωμεν CG: ἐβουλεύσαμεν cett.) Plainly, this too is dittography; for the line-length (whether c. 43 or c. 21.5 letters) is nearly identical to that of the other example. As has often been pointed out in this book, when a presumed conjecture is as strangely inept as these would be, it is probably not one.

[12] On Cn and V see Alberti, *Historiae* clii f.: he thinks that V (of which he collated only Book 1) was copied from Cn: so perhaps we can ignore it. Cn itself derives from F but shows contamination from A B, Pi and elsewhere. So Cn is not strong authority. Yet here its text is not *facilior*, and there is no apparent cause of omission.

What happened here? Note that we have to explain at least two errors.[13] Of three basic possibilities, all involve "forward" skipping.

(A) A single copyist prior to the *Omega-Theta* divergence—and prior too to the 2nd-c. papyrus—caused both errors thus: after he wrote ΠΕΖΗΙ, his eye skipped ahead from ΠΑΡΑΠ- to ΠΑΡΕΠ- so that he wrote too early the line ΠΑΡΕΠΛΕΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ κ.τ.λ. Marks that corrected the error were heeded by a pre-*Omega* copist, ignored or misread by the pre-*Theta* copyist.[14]

(B) Both errors were made in the *Theta*-tradition only, and at different times. Possibly—as in the example from Clark cited above—the one word ΠΑΡΕΠΛΕΙ was copied too early, displacing ΠΑΡΑΠΕΜΠΕΙ, and a later copyist, his eye skipping back because of the *homoiotes* ΠΑΡΕΠΛΕΙ . . . ΠΑΡΕΠΛΕΙ, repeated ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ κ.τ.λ.; or possibly it happened the other way round (i.e. the longer, backwards repetition preceded the shorter, forward repetition).[15]

(C) The text printed above is not actually the right one; but the recc. Cn V are right in that the second ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ κ.τ.λ. is authentic. Then B's ΠΑΡΑΠΕΜΠΕΙ could be (as Göller and Arnold suspected[16]) a B stop-gap; or else it was displaced by the repetition.

4. Possible clues to the lineation of a proexemplar. I have already mentioned Hemmerdinger's theory about tiny, 110-letter columns. This got a rough reception from Dover, Alberti and others (n. 19 below). Hemmerdinger had but three putative instances (all quoted below); in two of them, the intrusion can be taken for a gloss; and as we have just seen at 2.11.6, even when dittography is certain, we do not necessarily learn anything about column-length.

But *pace* his critics, his c. 110-letter coincidence, for which there is more evidence than he saw, need not be a nullity. Speculation of this kind is not *always* a dead-end. Both in this chapter and elsewhere in this study, we have noticed "mechanical interpolation," i.e.

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[13] N.B.: I here ignore the 106-letter omission of M, which is peculiar to itself (see Appendix I, list 1), and consider only the *Omega/Theta* divergence.

[14] E.g., someone signalled "replace ΠΑΡΕΠΛΕΙ κτλ. with ΠΑΡΑΠΕΜΠΕΙ κτλ."; but instead of doing this the next copyist simply changed each παραπέμπει to παρέπλει. (On ignored and misunderstood corrections see below, section 5.)

[15] This hypothesis may seem less "economical" than the other. But note well, that the "coincidence" of two errors in the same place is nothing much. After all, in this same place M later omitted independently. On such "coincidence" see Appendix I, init.

[16] They suspect that we understand a verb for "send" from παρέπλει (but this seems improbable).

repetition, or omission followed by wrong reinsertion. In order to show at a glance the possible mechanics of error, I have often printed a kind of model; I there put the repeated words at line-beginnings or at line-ends just because, in fact, the eye most often skips at such places. Now most of these models were made at first without regard to the possibility of a general pattern; i.e., only after most were made did it occur to me to collect them, and begin counting letters. Since, then, I cannot see that I biassed the experiment by a preconception, it seems striking that in a great many of those dozen or so "models" one finds a line-unit of 36 to 38 letters (this "line-unit" being, of course, either one line of that length or two lines of c. 18–19 letters, on which see below).[17] To summarize here the following list, there is repetition after 3 such units at 8.101.2, 2.11.6, 8.23.4, 8.93.1, (?)2.43.6; repetition after 2 such units at 8.66.3, 8.71.1; repetition after 1 unit at 6.23.3, 7.34.6; omission after 1 unit at 5.77.7, 5.47.11, (?)8.68.2.

In the following list—in which examples 1–3 seem quite certain, 4 and 5 disputable (they could be glosses), most of the others probable—the figure in parenthesis is the number of letters skipped by the copyist's eye. (In the first five, if Hemmerdinger were right, it would be the length of the column.) Each passage either has been or will be discussed elsewhere in this book.[18] I underline letters interpolated by dittography; I **print in boldface the letters that cause the eye to skip**, then **the letters that will be repeated**). Examples 3, 4, 5 are those used by Hemmerdinger as evidence for his 111-letter column (the others he overlooked).

(1) 8.101.2 (109) . . . **ΠΑΡΑΠΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ**
ΤΗΝ ΚΥΜΑΙΑΝ ΠΕΡΑΙΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΡΓΙΝΟΥΣΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ (37 litt.
ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΑΝΤΙΠΕΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΗΣ ΕΝ- (35
ΤΕΥΘΕΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΙ ΠΟΛΛΗΣ ΝΥΚΤΟΣ **ΠΑΡΑΠΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ** (37
ΤΗΝ ΚΥΜΑΙΑΝ καὶ ἀφικόμενοι (κτλ.) (om. recte C solus)

[17] In each place, the reader will find that a different model (i.e. one having a different line-unit) is impossible, unless either (a) we suppose very tiny lines or (b) there is some different kind of corruption, which I overlooked.

[18] The sole exception (and one which needs no discussion) is item (8) 7.34.6. That example I happened to notice in Bétant s.v. ῥᾳδίως, where my eye was caught by the note ad fin. "[*praeterea vulgo* VII, 34, 6, *ubi nunc deletum*]." ("Vulgo" because editors used to follow B and its derivatives, ignoring *alpha*—but ῥᾳδίως is undoubtedly authentic.) If anyone should wish more exhaustively to test this whole hypothesis, these square-bracketed italicized notes in Bétant ("praeteraea vulgo . . .," "ubi vulgo . . .," "ubi nunc . . .," "nonnulli . . .," etc) would be perhaps the quickest means of finding passages to which to apply the test.

(2) 2.11.6 (112) ... ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΑΙ·
ΟΥΤΩ ΓΑΡΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΠΙΕΝΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΙΣ ΕΥΨΥ- 37
ΧΟΤΑΤΟΙ ΑΝ ΕΙΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕ ΤΟ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΕΙΣΩΑΙ ΑΣΦΑ- 38
ΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΔ' ΕΠΙ ΑΔΥΝΑΤΟΝ ΑΜΥΝΕΣΘΑΙ 37
ΟΥΤΩ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΘΑ (κτλ.)

(3) 8.23.4 (109) τοὺς... ὁπλίτας πεζῇ ΠΑΡΕΠΛΕΙ (παραπέμπει B recte?)
ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΤΙΣΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΘΥΜΝΑΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΕΤΕΟ- 37
ΝΙΚΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΞΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΕ ΜΕΘ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ 37
ΝΑΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΡΙΣΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΧΙΑΙΣ **ΠΑΡΕΠΛΕΙ** 35
ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΤΙΣΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΩΥΜΝΑΝ, ἐλπίζων, κ.τ.λ. (om. recte B solus)

(4)?[19] 8.93.1 (108) ... ξυνελέγοντο. οἱ δ'
ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙ ΟΠΛΙΤΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΑΛΕΞΙΚΛΕΑ ΟΝ (36 letters
ΞΥΝΕΛΑΒΟΝ ΑΦΕΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΕΙΧΙΣΜΑ ΚΑΘΕΛΟΝ- (36)
ΤΕΣ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΙ ΜΟΥΝΙΧΙΑΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑΚΟΝ ΤΟ (36)
ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙ θέατρον ἐλθόντες, κ.τ.λ. (om. C solus)

(5)? 2.46.3 (111) ... ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐναντψία μεταβολὴ
ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΖΗΝ ΕΤΙ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΟΙΣ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ 38
ΜΕΓΑΛΑ ΤΑ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΑ ΗΝ ΤΙ ΠΤΑΙΩΣΙΝ. ΑΛΓΕΙΝΟ- 37
ΤΕΡΑΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΔΡΙ ΓΕ ΦΡΟΝΗΜΑ ΕΧΟΝΤΙ Η ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ 36
ΕΝ ΤΩΙ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις κ.τ.λ.

(6) 8.66.3 (76) ... ΗΣΣΩΝΤΟ ΤΑΙΣ ΓΝΩΜΑΙΣ, ΚΑΙ
ΕΞΕΥΡΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟ(Ι) ΑΔΥΝΑΤΟΙ ΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΜΕΓ ΕΘ ΟΣ (38)
ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΗΛΩΝ ΑΓΝΩΣΙΑΝ, ΟΥΧ ΕΙΧΟΝ (38)
ΑΥΤΟΙ ΕΞΕΥΡΕΙΝ (om. CG). κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο (κτλ.)[20]

(7) 8.71.1 (76) ... ὁ δὲ ΝΟΜΙΖΩΝ
ΟΥΧ ΗΣΥΧΑΖΕΙΝ
ΟΥΤ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΟΥΤΩ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΛΑΙΑΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙ- (38
ΑΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΩΣΕΙΝ ΕΙ ΤΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ ΙΔΟΙ ΣΘΩΝ (38
ΟΥΧ ΑΝ ΗΣΥΧΑΖΕΙΝ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι (κτλ.) *Or else:*

8.71.1 (76) ... ὁ δὲ ΝΟΜΙΖΩΝ **ΟΥΤ**
ΗΣΥΧΑΖΕΙΝ ΟΥΔ
ΕΥΘΥΣ ΟΥΤΩ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΛΑΙΑΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΝ 37
ΠΑΡΑΔΩΣΕΙΝ ΕΙ ΤΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ ΙΔΟΙ ΣΘΩΝ ΟΥΧ 39
ΑΝ ΗΣΥΧΑΖΕΙΝ ΟΥΔ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι (κτλ.)

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[19] See Dover *CR* 6 (1956) 25, Alberti "Qu. T." I.36–7. Both scholars, refuting Hemmerdinger's theory about columns, think this and (5) examples of conscious interpolation. Here we would have a gloss to τὸ θέατρον; but I think that assumption far less obvious than they. According to Dover the thing is clinched by the interpolated article; but after all, that addition would be natural.

[20] Or if, as also conjectured in Ch. IX, the first phrase is spurious, then the lineation could be ... καὶ [ἐξευρεῖν αὐτοὶ] || ἀδύνατοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ (37) || τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀγνωσίαν, οὐκ εἶχον αὐτὸ ἐξευρεῖν. (38) But this could also be an example of omission and wrong reinsertion.

(8) 7.34.6 (38) ... οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κορίνθιοι *καὶ* Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τῆι γῆι ναυμαχοῦντες καὶ διεσώιζοντο ... (ῥᾳδίως pro καὶ B solus recte)
(9) 6.23.3 (39) ἐκπλεῖν, παρασκευῇ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰκότων ἀσφαλὴς ἐκπλεῦσαι
(10) 2.78.2 Herw. coni. μέρος μέν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοπέδου
(11) 5.77.7 Kirchhoff. coni. <τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσίονται ἐν τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ Ἀργεῖοι>
(12) 5.47.11 Herw. coni. <Ἠλείους δὲ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν (τῇ) ἀγορᾷ>[21]
(13) ? 8.68.2 C om. μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καί ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη[22]

As was said above, the line-unit would have been either c. 37–8 letters[23] or 18–19 letters. Consider item (11), which was conjectured on firm grounds of sense by Kirchhoff at 5.77.7, and accepted by later editors: ... ὅσσοι δ' ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσω τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμμαχοι ἐντι, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσίονται ἐν τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τοὶ τῶν Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι ἐν τ<**ῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσίονται ἐν τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ Ἀργεῖοι**>, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες (κτλ.): ... ξύμμαχοι ἐντ[ι] τὰν αὐτῶν (κτλ.) codd. It is true that one can see abundant "mental" aids to omission; but if we try the shorter line-length, the visual ones become just as compelling, especially the homoioarcton (cf. ΚΑΙ ... ΚΑΙ ... at 8.68.2, discussed in Ch. II fin.):

ΤΩΝΑΡΓΕΙΩΝΞΥΜΜΑΧΟΙΕΝ
ΤΩΙΑΥΤΩΙΕΣΣΙΟΝΤΑΙΕΝ (19 letters
ΤΩΙΠΕΡΚΑΙΤΟΙΑΡΓΕΙΟΙ (19
ΤΑΝΑΥΤΩΝΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ....

Generally, the shorter unit by itself is harder to prove than is the other; for when the space skipped is only 17–19 letters, it need not have been a line. One would need a great many examples of it; and in many of them there should be either no *homoiotes* or (as here) an abnormal abundance of it. I have not searched for it: one would have to consider all putative instances of dittography,[24]

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[21] This (on which see in Ch. III) would have been caused by *homoiotes* with the preceding words ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. So I add τῇ which Herwerden does not (just as he deletes it in the preceding phrase), and this gives 37 letters.

[22] On this see in Ch. II fin., Ch. VI and Ch. IX; it is a queer instance. As I see it 18 letters were omitted; then, in *beta*, 36 letters were reinserted, the other 18 being apparently a piece of paraphrase. (On the unit 18 see below.)

It must be by mere coincidence that the apparently complete gloss at 7.58.3, δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμῶδες ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι, is 38 letters long. For it seems such an improbable place for a "gloss" by Thuc. himself that I cannot, though I try, see it as authentic.

[23] A trifle short is another candidate 8.50.3 (*Theta*'s text) καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. διόπερ (34) καὶ [περὶ] ...

[24] E.g. these two, where the gap is 17 letters: 1.95.1 ... καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησαν. ἐν τῇδε <δὲ> τῆι ἡγεμονίαι ἤδη [δὲ] βιαίου ὄντος αὐτοῦ οἵ τε ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἤχθοντο καὶ

omission[25] and transposition.[26] Consider e.g. 6.99.2, where it seems suggested by a transposition and two "interpolations" (here "Θ" = CGMEFA):

(B)—καὶ φθάνειν αὐτοὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες τοῖς σταύροις τὰς ἐφόδους
(Θ)—καὶ φθάνειν ἂν τοῖς σταύροις προκαταλαμβάνοντες τὰς ἐφόδους

Now (1) *Theta*'s ἂν is suspect on grounds of sense, as is the τοῖς of both MSS (see Dover's excellent note on this passage, *HCT* ad loc.); then (2) αὐτοὶ is not merely "acceptable" (Dover), but it seems needed, for the contrast with the next words (not quoted above) ἐκείνους δὲ . . .; then most plainly (3) προκαταλαμβάνοντες was transposed. So it is tempting to suppose that the proarchetype, which B reflects almost exactly (see below), had this lineation:

καὶ φθάνειν αὐτοὶ
προκαταλαμβάνοντες (18)
σταύροις τὰς ἐφόδους κ.τ.λ.

For it is plain at least (i.e. regardless of the lineation) that whoever copied the MS from which *Theta* descends transposed προκαταλαμβάνοντες; i.e., he skipped those 18 letters, then saw his error and copied them after σταύροις. That explains how ΑΥΤΟΙΣΤΑΥΡΟΙΣ (as it now appeared) became ΑΝΤΟΙΣΣΤΑΥΡΟΙΣ. And though B is right in other respects, it retains τοῖς because it is, here as elsewhere, a conflation of *Theta* and *Omega*.[27]

Naturally, one is tempted to put these mechanics to use in places

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(κτλ.). (Here δὲ om. U Vh aliique recc., del Stephanus qui post ἐξεπολιόρκησαν distinxit: transpositionem coni. Hude Alberti [tentaverat Poppo]: Jones velut plures edd. distinxit—peiperam ut credo—post ἡγεμονίᾳ.) 8.90.1 Φρύνιχός τε, ὃς καὶ στρατήσας ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ [*ποτε*] τῶι Ἀλκιβιάδηι *τότε* διηνέχθη. Or these two, where the gap is 19 letters: 2.22.3 (q.v.) Πειράσιοι, Κραννώνιοι, [Πειράσιοι]; 4.98 τοὺς *μὴ* ἐθέλοντας ἱεροῖς τὰ [*μὴ*] πρέποντα. (Here interpolation is confined to the recc., but is possibly old, as is indicated by the fact that the scholium has it. But the word could be authentic; see e.g. Graves ad loc.).

[25] As here, as at 8.68.2 and as in the examples in App. I, list 11 (*Theta* omissions. Of those the most impressive, because there is no *homoiotes*, is the 18-letter omission at 5.47.2 ξυμμάχους ὧν ἄρχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι.

[26] E.g. conceivably at a place that in Ch. V I defended: 1.6.3 καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων [διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον] οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ (19) <διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον> χιτῶνάς τε λίνους (κ.τ.λ.). For in spite of that defense, how very much likelier this looks!

[27] On B's conflating see Appendix V, part 2 (also Alberti, *Historiae* lv–lvii). I had worked all this out before noticing Dover's note here (loc. cit.), in which he suspects some of it: "The article with σταύροις is highly suspect (cf. p. 467) and may be a product of the corruption of αὐτοί."

that could be explained otherwise. I thus indulge myself just once:

2.42.4 (Hude's text) καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν <δεῖν> μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ [τὸ] ἐνδόντες σῴζεσθαι, τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον (κτλ.)

καὶ om. Dion. Hal. | τὸ G_1MEFAB: τῷ CG: τῷ Dion., qui om. αὐτῷ | καὶ om. Dion. | <δεῖν> Hude | κάλλιον Dobree | ἡγησάμενοι del. Schwartz: ἡρημένοι conj. Weil || τὸ ex corr. G_1: in τῶ corr. c^2: om. Dion.

This is one of the most studied cruces in Thuc. Despite all attempts to defend it (see especially Rusten ad loc.) it seems corrupt still, in part because of the MS disagreements, in part because of a problem of idiom: here ἡγησάμενοι ought to mean "preferring," but apparently cannot.[28] Though shy of adding to the pages of ink that have been spent on this, I point to certain purely mechanical facts that seem overlooked. (1) Notice how sleepy one copyist was: four of the five omissions made by "Dionysius" in this passage seem caused in fact by homoioteleuton:[29] ἐβουλήθησαν <μετ' αὐτοῦ> τοὺς μὲν (κτλ.)... πεποιθέναι· <καὶ> ἐν <αὐτῶι> τῶι ἀμύνεσθαι <καὶ> παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ <τὸ> ἐνδόντες σῴζεσθαι. Hude and Jones are right: all those omissions should be restored. But (2) the τὸ which, alone, that copyist omitted for some different reason has other evidence against it. Notice that G1 has emended something (τῶ?) in order to get it; and that c has emended it to τῶ. This suggests that *alpha* (and *Theta*?) had one variant written above the other. Since τῶ is exactly what CG have earlier, before ἀμύνεσθαι, and since the intervening space is 37 or 38 letters, I suspect that that second τὸ or τῶ is a piece of dittography akin to those analyzed above:

ΤΩι ΑΜΥΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΘΕΙΝ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΗΓΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ Η (38 letters
[ΤΩ] ΕΝΔΟΝΤΕΣ ΣΩΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ

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[28] For bibliography see Rusten ad loc. His own construing, "Thinking that in it (were involved) fighting and death rather than surrender and survival," cannot be right; for as Rusten says himself, they did *not* think death inevitable. That is the point of ἐφιέσθαι (which he defends), of ἐλπίδι... τοῦ κατορθώσειν, and of the last words of the sentence, which I think mean: "they died at the height not of fear but of expectancy of good fortune" (cf. Hobbes here, and see Appendix II n. 3).

[29] *Amm.* 2 16 (807 R init.). Notice that the very corrupt text of *Amm.* 2 teems with such lacunae, some very long, and almost all caused by *homoiotes*; they can be detected precisely when Dion. is *quoting* either Thuc. or himself. Note e.g. the many instances in Ch. 2 and 4–6. So perhaps—*pace* Pritchett, *Dionysius* etc. p. xvii—we should ascribe most of the badness of the quotations in this work to copyists' errors, not to Dionysius. (On Dionysius' text in general, which is elsewhere excellent, see App. III.)

So for that perhaps unsound reason, I feel certain that either Jones or Hude is right here. Jones prints Hude's text, except that he adds nothing, and that seems not impossible.[30] Hude's own supplement is ugly in sound and word order;[31] I conjecture instead: καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι <χρῆναι> καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ ἐνδόντες σῴζεσθαι. In either case there were but two little *sauts du même au même*: one causing omission of the infinitive, the other dittography of τῷ.

5. Omission followed by wrong insertion. This was noted earlier as probable at 2.78.1 and possible at 5.22.2; it seems possible too at 8.23.4, 8.66.3 and 8.71.1; and like the other error-types discussed above, it can be suspected wherever there is a crude verbatim repetition.[32] The clearest instance seems 2.24.2 τριήρεις τε μετ' αὐτῶν [ἑκατὸν add. EFAB, del. f] ἐξεταίρους [ἑκατὸν add. C G] ἐποιήσαντο κατὰ τὸ ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκατόν [ἕκαστον CEFAB, om. G]. Here only f M (= *Phi*) have the truth.[33] In C (?= *alpha*) and in EFAB (*beta*), ἑκατὸν is very probably a correction wrongly inserted—each time in a different place!—of ἕκαστον, which ought to have been deleted but was not (cf. especially 8.23.4).[34]

But the layout of the page or pages on which that happened is hidden now (at least from me). To illustrate the mechanics and to show what absurd confusion can be caused by a corrector's marks, I end with two spectacular examples from Latin verse. The first occurs

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[30] In this case we must construe boldly as Pearson (*AJP* 64 [1943] 399–44): "And... thinking that salvation (σῴζεσθαι) lay (sc. εἶναι) rather even in death than in surrender." Daring is both the construction and the thought. But the *variatio* infin./participle is common (Ros 407 ff.), and with the thought compare the end of this same sentence (they died expecting fair fortune: see Appendix II n. 3) and the at heart identical thought of 2.43.6 ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος; cf. also Pearson's good parallels from verse (loc. cit.).

[31] I.e. because the rhyme is crude and because καὶ seems at first a connective. Χρῆναι seems an apter word anyway.

[32] For copious good Latin examples see Havet, *Manuel* etc. § 1413–1454. On one kind of correction in Greek texts see Brinkmann, *Rhein. Mus.* 57 (1902) 480–497: compare below Appendix I, List 2 on 4.104.3–4.

[33] Or rather, M has the truth and f is one letter from the truth. G has the right words (which it learned perhaps from this same source) but the wrong order (which presumably it got from *alpha*). This example I noticed Bartoletti's list of M/*Theta* divergences (*Per la storia del testo* 37); the lists of readings in this book are handy for anyone interested in these phenomena, since, unlike other stemmatists, he tends to quote not single words and phrases but whole passages.

[34] Not inconceivably, either ἕκαστον or ἑκατόν is the result of dittography further corrupted. But that seems far less likely; for (a) I cannot make a model of this that "works," and (b) the variation, though minute, seems significant.

in Vergil MSS at *Aen.* 6.196–8 (cited in Havet's *Manuel* § 1487; but my information is taken from Ribbeck's apparatus). I print first Mynors' OCT, then the text of P (4th–5th cent.: the mark in the left margin is printed by Ribbeck as an arrow pointing up), then that of g (9th cent.) Block letters indicate the original hand in each MS, small letters a later hand:

ramus humum. tuque o dubiis ne defice rebus,
diva parens.' sic effatus vestigia pressit
observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant

RAMUSHUMUM TUQUEODUBIISNEDEFICEREBUS
OBSERVANS
^ DIVAPARENS QUAESIGNAFERANT QUOTENDEREPERGANT
. . . (etc.) . . .
[*bottom mg.*:] siceffatusbestigiapress.

RAMUS HUMUM. INQUE O DUBIIS NE DEFICE REBUS diva parens
SIC EFFATUS VESTIGIA PRESSIT
DIVA PARENS observans QUAE SIGNA FERANT, QUO (etc.)

["Observans" in g is written over an erasure.]

In g, it seems, the scribe and the corrector were both perplexed by the earlier "correction," which indeed is not a model of clarity. What the erasure was in g I cannot imagine. Worth noting is the smallness of the homoioteleuton -NS . . . -NS that caused omission in the first place.

My information about the following bizarre example, which is too long to quote here, comes from Lindsay's apparatus at Plautus, *Menaechmi* 1028 ff. In the first place, the block of 7 lines 1037–43 appears twice: in its proper place and between 1028 and 1029. Plainly, these 7 lines were first omitted on account of the identical line-ends . . . MARSUPPIUM, . . . MARSUPPIUM. When someone noticed this, they were copied into the top margin, which happened to begin with 1029, and a sign was put in the side margin to show where they must be reinserted. Then, the copyist of a later MS did correctly interpret the sign—for he put the block of lines in its right place (almost)—but not till after he had already copied them at the top of the page, in the wrong place.

But the bizarre thing is that he put them not *quite* in the right place: he put them one line too late, after 1044. For probably that

is why that line, too, appears twice in our MSS: both in its right place and between 1036 and 1037. One can think of other explanations, but none so simple.

In sum, all four causes of intrusion here examined are well-attested, very abundant in Thuc. MSS and too often overlooked. They should be held constantly in mind as possibilities; and wherever, as often, an intrusion might have been either conscious or unconscious, the latter is somewhat likelier, especially when the mechanics of change are visible.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ON THE POSSIBLE EXTENT AND CAUSES OF VERY EARLY CORRUPTION

Now and then in this study we have noticed rather gross corruptions—and sometimes many-layered corruption—that must antedate not only the medieval MSS and the scholia, but even the papyri; and other hints of this will be cited later.[1] It is natural to wonder how extensive it may have been; and legitimate to ask whether a work of this type which everywhere prefers "solid evidence" is not merely photographing the tip of an iceberg.

Of course, that question cannot be answered. But neither should an excessive rigor ignore it; for in that case, not only among those who fear this but even in oneself insofar as one fears, free rein is given to a dangerous, pure "intuition" that feeds on scraps of evidence which it does not feel required to weigh very exactly. The present brief chapter will show, I hope, agnosticism on the main point. Its purpose is to state the "worst-case scenario" with some exactness, and in so doing to expose certain hypotheses about early corruption as premature, doubtful or demonstrably false.

To a large extent, it seems, this study has vindicated the basic soundness of Byzantine copying. Cobet, Rutherford, Marchant and others supposed that the majority of cruder interpolations in Thuc. arose from the ignorance, carelessness or confusion of these copyists, whose margins were too crowded with commentary; but as we saw, the evidence of papyri alone shakes this supposition.

But supposing still that those scholars were right about the extent of corruption, when and how could this have occurred? Certainly, on the one hand, in the last few centuries of Hellenistic culture, contemporaneously with the papyri. Even then it would have been helped

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[1] See especially the places cited above at the end of Ch. VII on the papyri; also Claudio Galazzi *ZPE* 49 (1982) 39–41 and D.M. Lewis, *JHS* 77 (1957) 329 and *Gnomon* 38 (1966) 136. Lewis has always been a connoisseur of very old corruption (for a list of places in which he finds it see his Princeton diss. *Towards a Historian's Text* etc. 164 ff.) One of his specimens was quoted above in Ch. V, 5; two others are quoted below at the end of Appendix I, list 11.

by the presence of marginal and interlinear notes and glosses; for of these the papyri contain suggestive evidence.[2]

But beyond that, one is tempted to imagine much interpolation prior to Alexandrian scholarship. Despite certain traps in this (to be discussed presently), I now glance at other traditions. Rutherford showed that in the much fuller scholia of Aristophanes, which often record Alexandrian sources, there is plain evidence of interpolations that antedate those scholars, who comment on them; G. Zuntz points to similar things in the case of Euripides; and for Homer the fact is notorious. Noteworthy too is the quite concrete, detailed textual criticism of Galen, who seems as familiar with interpolation, in its various types, as he does with every other kind of corruption known to us.[3] And beyond this there *are* some disturbing papyri, of two kinds.

On the one hand, some papyrus scraps have exposed unexpectedly many interpolations in a tradition, viz. the third-century Petrie papyri of Plato's *Phaedo* and *Laches*. Perhaps in part because they seem coarsely copied fragments of a "popular edition," in part because

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[2] The most complete collection of the evidence for marginal and other notes in papyri is still perhaps J.W. White, *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes*, Boston/London 1914, liv–lxiv. Some judicious additions to it (and some reinterpretation) were later made, above all, by N.G. Wilson: "A Chapter in the History of Scholia," *CQ* 17 (1967) 244–56 (where see references); *GRBS* 12 (1971) 557–8; *Il libro e il testo* 105–110; *Scholars of Byzantium* 32–6.

All of these works try to resolve an old dispute—which I think unable to be resolved because of a dearth of clear evidence, because of problems of dating what evidence we have, and because the phenomena overlap too much—about the basic differences in kind between pre-Alexandrian, Alexandrian and Byzantine commentary. Thus, White was concerned to prove how "brief and meager" the papyrus marginalia were, as compared with those of the parchment codices into which whole Alexandrian commentaries were incorporated. But for our present purpose, this distinction between miscellaneous notes and integral commentaries means little: miscellaneous notes are enough. Secondly, notes such as those that overflow the margins and creep between the lines of—e.g.—Pindar in P.Oxy. 841 are neither brief nor meager. Thirdly, as Wilson pointed out, arguments from silence based on papyri are not sound, since "the [papyrus] books we know come mainly from the rubbish heaps of provincial towns" (*CQ* 17 [1967] 249).

On the problem cf. also Rutherford, *Schol. Arist.* 22 ff. (a suggestive, imaginative discussion, which I do not find cited by later scholars). On the one hand, he thinks as White, "jottings between the lines there must have always been of an irregular and random sort, but substantive commentary there rarely was" (22); yet in a footnote (p. 22 n. 23), appealing to the evidence of Galen, he shows how extensive these "jottings" must often have been.

[3] For many specimens of Galen's "textual criticism," which was indeed that, see Rutherford, *Schol. Arist.* 55–7 (on interpolation, especially p. 57, lines 10–32; also p. 22 n. 23). Many interesting Hellenistic testimonia are collected also in Page's *Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy*, esp. 188–121.

they were not impeccably edited in their first modern edition,[4] these have been underrated as merely "wild" (e.g. even by Turner, *Greek Papyri* 108); but in the *Phaedo* alone they do expose from 15 to 20 interpolated glosses, conjectures, etc. in a few pages of Oxford Classical Text.[5]

On the other hand, some truly wild papyri are themselves strangely more corrupt than any medieval text. Best known of these are the earliest Homer papyri, full of extra lines; later, but closer to home because it is prose, is the heavily interpolated second-century Isocrates papyrus from which I quoted in Chapter I, P.Oxy. 1625 (on which see its editors' introduction); and very alarming may seem the third-century B.C. Thucydides papyrus, P.Hamb. 163, which, though it has a few plausible readings, is usually wrong when diverging from our paradosis; so that it caused E.G. Turner to write, with some exaggeration (*JHS* [1956] 98): "It illustrates forcibly what every editor knows, that Thucydides' text was peculiarly liable to early corruption. Remembering that the unknown and uncontrollable period for the textual critic is the fourth century B.C., can we dare to hope that better scribes [than that of this papyrus] showed greater reverence for their author's words . . .?"

Now if Couvreur, Carlini and others are right about the Plato papyri, Thucydides is not so peculiar in this respect. But this would support, not weaken, Turner's main point; and in a later work (in *Greek Papyri* 100–112) he tries to reinforce it. He notes that the vast

[4] J.P. Mahaffy, (ed.) *The Flinders Petrie Papyri* vol. I (Dublin 1891), vol. II (1893). Mahaffy, a pioneer not as good as Grenfell and Hunt, seems not to have thought it his business to calculate how many letters the lacunae could have, and too often simply filled them with the current *textus receptus*.

[5] Turner (loc. cit.) seems misled by the conservatism of Burnet whom he cites. For bibliography on the *Phaedo* fragments see Carlini *Studi* etc. 8–16; but add Paul Couvreur *Rev. Phil.* n.s. 17 (1893) 13–25. On the one hand, this papyrus has many coarse peculiar errors which have caused contempt of it, but which seem mostly mechanical. (I doubt whether Carlini is right, that it has many bad peculiar readings from other causes. The most striking example is 68 e 5 ἀνδραποδώδη for εὐήθη; on this see Coppola *Aegyptus* 5 [1924] 215–16. Surely, the scholium which he cites is striking.) On the other hand, it exposes so many and such varied interpolations that Carlini can even attempt a typology of them: (1) the supplementing—sometimes ruinous—of elliptical expressions, (2) deliberate emendation of things that, with change of custom, had come to seem incomprehensible or intolerable, (3) (here, he follows Jachmann) "analogous simplification," i.e. the doctoring of a phrase to achieve formal, and usually tautological, symmetry with an earlier phrase. This analysis, which generally ignores the possibility of mechanical error, becomes too imaginative (e.g. see here below on ancient "editions"); but the interpolations themselves are, I think, real and alarmingly many.

majority of extant papyri, which in date can be termed "post-Alexandrian," tend to confirm the medieval tradition (just as we have seen in the case of Thuc.). Yet the very earliest papyri (he cites those mentioned above of Homer, Plato and Thuc., and also some of Euripides) are curiously wild.[6] That is, a typical papyrus from before about 150 B.C. will have several readings that are plainly right and otherwise unattested, along with many dull variants, bad variants, and clear interpolations, that afterwards disappeared. This, combined with other hints such as ancient looseness in quotation, suggests that in the fourth and third centuries B.C., most people including copyists did not even attempt to reproduce an author's words exactly.[7] So it seems to Turner that the medieval tradition—normally superior, but much poorer in variants—must descend from Alexandrian "editions" whose makers had sifted the variants and, though they sacrificed interesting readings, raised the standards both of accuracy and uniformity.[8]

In that case our paradosis, which depends on possibly idiosyncratic Alexandrian editors faced with a sea of raw materials, *must* be quite as corrupt as our worst fears would make it.

This hypothesis, as presented in Turner's typically dense, exact prose, is gripping, and it has had wide currency; but in spite of my own esteem of a scholar so good, I suggest that it seems (A) not adequately supported, (B) in one key respect plainly false, (C) on the whole not probable, and (D) mischievous.

(A) This early papyrus evidence seems much too scanty, and its elements too unlike. As Barrett has said apropos of Euripides, the various MS traditions are probably not bound by the same laws. Homer must be put to one side as *sui generis*: a tradition oral in its roots, orally transmitted (by rhapsodes, parallel with the written

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[6] Kleinlogel in *Geschichte* 36 ff. has an interesting demonstration of this trait in the *Xi* readings of cod. H; quoting Turner's English, he calls it "wild and erratic."

[7] Compare the similar conclusion of Alan Henry (which I cited above in Ch. III), *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees*, p. 105.

[8] As regards Thuc. in particular cf. Kleinlogel's theory, discussed by Carlini (on P. Bodmer XXVII: *Museum Helveticum* 32 [1975] 36) (my translation): "Kleinlogel (1965 37 ff.) asked if the *xi* tradition, already in circulation (as is shown by P.Hamb. 63 [but on this see here below]) in pre-Alexandrian times, was not extinguished in post-Alexandrian times, paralyzed like other textual traditions, by the decisive influence of an 'Alexandrian' edition of Thuc. This question was justified in the absence of papyrus evidence representing the *xi* tradition in the Roman age. P. Bodmer xxvii is precisely such evidence." Thus, Kleinlogel's "negative evidence" was exploded. Despite this, Carlini himself clings to the theory still; he cites "other evidence" (in reality, all pure speculations) given by Pfeiffer, Luschnat and Alberti.

tradition), and offering unusual temptation to interpolators.[9] Then for Euripides, very probably, the evidence has been misinterpreted. According to Barrett the *book* texts have been fairly stable at all times; the wildest variants come in excerpted passages; and the other rich variants come in the "alphabetical" plays: here the cause of impoverishment is probably not Alexandrian editing, but the fact that, for those plays, the medieval tradition derives from a single manuscript.[10] As regards Thuc., there is but the one "wild" fragment, the significance of which Turner seems really to overrate;[11] and about the implications of the Plato papyri (as I have already said) good scholars are in sharp disagreement. Thus, until there is much more evidence, the general pattern, though it seems real (see point (C) below), remains obscure in its causes.

(B) Something really false in this theory—namely, the point about ancient laxness in quoting—has been exposed earlier in this study. For in Chapter III, comparing Thuc. 5.47 with the inscription, we found that the historical "norm" was defied by Thucydides himself, by ancient stone-cutters, and by two millenia of Greek and Byzantine copyists. I think this testimony significant and precious. That that passage is not anomalous is shown also by the Doric forms at 5.77 (surely, only a real concern for exactness could have preserved *any* of them), and repeatedly elsewhere: e.g. in some of the very places which I have used to point to very early corruption (especially 2.46.3, 2.21.3.) These are hard facts; and while they do not, of course, put all fears to rest, they ought to be a check upon paranoia.

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[9] On Homer see also n. 14 below. Similarly *sui generis*, and not to be used as evidence in this discussion, are the clear actors' interpolations in Greek tragedy studied by Page (on whom see also n. 14 below).

[10] W.S. Barrett (ed.), *Hippolytus* (Oxford 1964) p. 56 (cited by Turner himself, as offering a view opposed to his). All this is curiously ignored by Carlini, though he cites this passage (*Studi* p. 16 n. 48): he uses it only to buttress his theory about Alexandrian "editions" of Homer and Plato.

[11] The divergences from our paradosis are trivial but for the one reading discussed above in Ch. VII, 1.2.2 διανοίᾳ for παρασκευῇ. Beyond that, it seems improper to write: "The coincidence here [i.e. of H agreeing with the papyrus] can only mean that παρασκευῆι and διανοίαι are both respectable ancient variants: the former was chosen for the ruling ancient edition, whichever that was, while the latter was kept in another edition" (*Greek Papyri* 112). This is loaded language. Surely, the coincidence "proves" at most that the copyist of a common ancestor wrote διανοίᾳ into his text. (Perhaps it proves not even that. Generally, Luschnat too stubbornly refused to see old readings in the recc.; but in his 1960 edition of Books 1–2 p. 204, he is quite right to point out that H *could* have got the reading from one of the many scholia now lost.) For more about these imagined "editions," see below.

(C) The theory seems much inferior to another, much simpler one: Alexandrian scholars did indeed clarify our texts; but not so much (if at all) by choice of particular readings—that is, not so much (if at all) by issuing "editions" in the modern sense[12]—as by referring in their commentaries to the soundest text which existed before them, and which they had at least enough good sense to find and value.[13] This would better explain the basic contradiction in our data. On the one hand, from the sudden stability of the papyri beginning at about 150 B.C., it is hard not to deduce that Alexandrian scholarship did, somehow, stabilize our texts. Yet we also know three other things: (1) that our texts are full of readings athetized, or disliked, by the Alexandrians;[14] (2) that our texts are full of plain blunders, which those scholars could not have failed to recognize as such; and (3)

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[12] The spectre of a somewhat arbitrary Alexandrian "edition," from which derives our present "vulgate," is raised whenever an interesting "extra-stemmatic" variant appears, that can be assigned to a different "edition" (e.g. as we saw earlier, in the case of Thuc. 3.13 by Meritt and Wade-Gery: *Hesperia* 23 [1954] and 26 [1957] passim). In Pasquali (*Storia* Ch. 6 passim) the term "different edition" seems used whenever he merely means "different exemplar."

Turner is often cited in support of this theory. Since he has himself described the modest nature of these ἐκδόσεις (e.g. in *Greek Papyri* 112 ff.), he cannot be held responsible for the theory's worst excesses (e.g. Carlini, *Studi* 20 ff.); yet we have just seen him speaking in this same loose language, apropos of the variant at 1.2.2.

Note too that those extrastemmatic variants that now suggest superior "editions" are part, after all, of the medieval "vulgate"; for as Barrett says rightly, this, with its copious marginalia, never was a closed system. (Barrett, *Hippolytus* 56–7: his remarks apply to Thuc. MSS too.)

In the Thuc. tradition, exaggerated respect is often paid now to the *Xi* and *Omega* texts, championed over *Theta*. But in large measure, the superiority of those texts is a mirage caused by the fact that they are for us a precious check upon *Theta*. If *Xi* should actually come to light, it too would have banalizations, gross lacunae and—if Valla and Pi³ are any hint—interpolations. Some of this we can sense even now: but we ascribe it to the late copyists of the *recentiores*.

From Alexandria, of course, must have come the various book-divisions; but as Lewis wrote (*Towards a Historian's Text* 25), "Was the difference in book-division matched by a corresponding recension? To this question we can give absolutely no answer, and although it would be of great importance for us to know whether there was more than one recension of Thuc. circulating in antiquity, we simply can not."

[13] I had formed this impression before finding it also in Slater (*Editing Greek and Latin Texts* 58–9, where he cites also Ludwich, Pasquali, Nickau and T.W. Allen); he imagines that for most classical authors there must have been a "relatively fixed text of some antiquity."

[14] This is clearest in Aristophanic and Homeric scholia. The single most striking fact—the very symbol of this contradiction—is that in Homer, the *numerus versuum* of Aristarchus' "edition" is demonstrably identical with that of the medieval vulgate and the "late" papyri (beginning at c. 150); while yet this same vulgate relentlessly ignores Aristarchus' choices of particular readings. The first fact was shown by Apthorp

their commentaries, as reflected in scholia and in papyri, seem always merely, with utmost caution, to palpate the problems which they dared not "solve" by simple emendation. This is not less true of Aristarchus than it is of that bungler, the writer of P.Oxy. 853, and of the Thuc. scholiasts. Again and again these men scrupulously record different readings (some absurd) or different explanations (some absurd) of a hard reading.

(D) The theory when accepted is mischievous, not because it must encourage editors to conjecture (since with that there is nothing wrong), but because it must bias them. The bias is apparent in rash emendations and not less in a false conservatism. Thus, I think, at Thuc. 5.47: the idea about an ancient "norm" of careless quoting is what causes some scholars (e.g. Romilly, Galazzi) stubbornly to refuse to emend the *Theta* MSS against the inscription, even though that, probable in itself, is supported by Valla's readings that must have come from *Xi*.

In sum, we have real evidence of pre-Alexandrian corruption; but how profound it is we do not know. In kind, in Thuc. MSS at least, such early corruption as we can detect resembles that which occurred later; and though we must allow for the possibility that there is much more of it than we can now detect—i.e. given that "the unknown and uncontrollable period for the textual critic is the fourth century B.C."—nothing impels us to assume this.

(summarized above Ch. V, 5 s.v. 3.84); in order to account for the second, he supposed that Aristarchus' "edition"—i.e., his recommendations, adopted by publishers—extended only to the *numerus versuum*, not to particular readings! Of course, there is no way of disproving this; but surely it is simpler to suppose that there *was* no new "edition" in the modern sense, and that what stabilized the *numerus versuum* was the commentary itself. Cf. Page, *Actors' Interpolations* p. 7, "And above all the wide publication of annotated texts ensured a high degree of stability during future generations, since the notes were relevant to their proper texts and to none other. Henceforth the isolated interpolator must deliver his malignant attack in vain against the unanimous alliance of numerous commentaries."

CHAPTER TWELVE

SUMMARY

It is obvious that in the matter of interpolation as in everything else an editor must trust in part to his mere intuition; for the MSS themselves, made not by machines but persons, embody centuries of concrete historical reality; and for reasons invisible to us, any particular case may defy a general pattern. But there are patterns; and we have seen at least this much, that (A) the evidence given by MS disagreement, if we assess it keeping one eye on the blessed stemma, is real but fairly small, and (B) as regards the tradition itself, the main "objective" criteria for exclusion are difficult and many-sided, and to this day abused even by conservative editors. Then (C) the very oldest evidence, that of papyri and of a long fifth-century inscription, do not encourage anyone's excisions. These three facts together suggest that the amount of crude interpolation in Thucydides has been exaggerated; and that conservatism both in general and in the particular case is not a doctrine but a matter of simple prudence, and a weapon against the "paranoia" mentioned at the beginning of this study.

It is true that very often, in many cases that were deliberately omitted from this book as too uncertain, but also in places which I have discussed at length in order to illustrate the problem, intuition points the other way. In Thucydides MSS many phrases that antedate the papyri do continue to seem "otiose" and gloss-like. An intuition so strong and constant, not confined to a Cobet but shared by most readers, must have *some* basis. One would like to have not legal "convictions" in particular cases but the truth itself about the extent of the corruption that one can sense, and which only now and then becomes palpable.

When reading the extant scholia, one seems to see clearly its root causes: in the peculiar abstractness of Thucydides' language and syntax, his love of compression, the relentless subtlety of his great stanza-like periods, and his very precision in describing what happened, and why it did. Long antitheses hang—dangerously—on bare nuances of Attic or Thucydidean idiom. So again and again (e.g. at 8.68.1–2, as

discussed in Chapter IX) one senses the possibility that a taut, daring construction has been spoiled by some near-sighted corrector; and one longs to emend, as keenly as did Cobet, Herwerden or Schwartz. In this respect, when one sees what kinds of thing they gloss, the scholia in fact demoralize; and even the "negative" evidence of papyri is alarming, since it shows how old and quiet is some corruption that is without doubt real.

And yet we found little reason to trust this strong intuition; in any case, we saw repeatedly that whatever its basic truth, when it is applied directly to improvement of the text, it tends to commit blunders. Except when they are based on MS disagreement, excisions tend in time to become strange-looking. The reason lies in the nature of the corruption. The most striking result of any careful sifting of the evidence is that the "banalization" of our text is real but tends to be tiny, and to take the form not of gloss-like matter but of crudely mended mechanical errors, that often, after they have "adapted" to their context, closely resemble glosses.

Of longer intrusions we have found extremely few. The editors who, like Stahl, everywhere saw interpolation coming from scholium-type paraphrases which "huc irrepsisse ex margine videntur," were often right to sense trouble; that is why one reads them still. But almost always, instead of that phenomenon, a closer look uncovers many small, one- or two- or three-word interpolations: most of them very old, and many caused by, and collaborating with, prior corruption.

Some few of these places can be mended still; but only by using each of the tools examined in this book—the scholia, Valla's Latin, mechanical models of the corruption, above all, the coarse yet indispensable map of the *stemma codicum*—with extreme tact.

Beyond that, it seems impossible to summarize the "results" of a book as minutely, tortuously descriptive as this. The material is many-sided, and so much more interesting than the generalities that one can draw from it that even the preceding remarks may be felt to falsify.

Therefore, I would rather end as I began, concretely. In the "typology" of the first chapter I often appealed to Madvig; and the following anecdote comes from page 193 of P.J. Jensen's book about him.[1] It seems that at Cic. *de lege agraria* 2.102, Orelli, following

[1] *J.N. Madvig* (traduit du danois par André Nicolet) (Odense 1981). Very instructive specimens of putative interpolation, most in places later vindicated by MSS or by scholia, are analyzed on pp. 149, 159, 182–3, 193.

Lambin, in his first edition printed: "non modo vos eritis in otio, qui semper esse volueritis, verum etiam istos, [quibus otiosi negotium facessimus, otiosissimos reddam]." Since the clause in brackets merely repeats the preceding, it is plainly either a gloss upon that or else—if it seem somehow authentic—some gratuitous marginal "parallel" of the kind dear to Jachmann. Or perhaps, one could keep "otiosissimos reddam" and excise the more banal "eritis in otio." In any case, "seclusa huc irrepsisse ex glossemate manifestum est."

But in order to arrive at this diagnosis, Lambin had already changed things a little, and Madvig called attention to what the MSS actually give: ". . . *verum etiam* istos, quibus otiosi *otium fecissimus atque* otiosissimos reddam." He saw that *fecissimus* must conceal an adj. ending *-issimos*. He also saw that if on grounds of sense we suppose a word like *quietissimos*, only a slight further change is needed to get good and plainly authentic sense: "non modo vos eritis in otio qui semper esse volueritis, verum etiam istos, quibus odiosum otium, quietissimos atque otiosissimos reddam." The first epithet remains uncertain (thus even Madvig): the rest is not.

In retrospect, after Madvig, anyone can see the stylistic and other hints that ought to have told against gloss-like interpolation here. But for Lambin, Orelli and other busy men, the temptation to take this short-cut to sense was too great. In the equally corrupt, stylistically far more unneven, idiosyncratic and densely glossed text of Thucydides, this sort of surgery has seemed even to cautious editors a kind of heal-all. Most often, at Thuc. 1.39.3 just as here, its "logic" is at once compelling and utterly deccptive.

APPENDIX ONE

LISTS OF LONGER OMISSIONS IN THE MSS

Now and then in this book we have noticed that omission can result in a strong appearance of interpolation (e.g. at 1.39.3, 1.40.1, 6.65.3, 8.76.5, 8.101.2; see Ch. IX on Book 8, passim), while in other places it is hard to see which of the two things we are confronted with (e.g. Ch. II, 10).[1] Thus they are often two sides of a coin (cf. also on 5.47, 8.68.2). The somewhat tedious labor of this Appendix was undertaken, then, in curiosity about the frequency, the predisposing conditions, and the exact nature of larger lacunae in the MSS.

Often (most notably at 3.87.3, q.v. in Ch. II) there are simultaneous multiple omissions which to those not versed in this might seem an improbable "coincidence." I here quote the most striking instance known to me; it occurs at Plautus *Miles* 727–9 (cited in Havet's *Manuel* § 563). I italicize the words omitted by the miniscule consensus P (caused by the *homoiotes* "statuit"), and print in block letters the words omitted by the palimpsest A (caused by the *homoiotes* "quae . . . probast"):

> sicuti merci pretium statuit *qui est probus aganoramus*
> *quae probast MERS PRETIUM EI STATUIT* PRO VIRTUTE UT VENEAT, QUAE IMPROBAST, pro mercis vitio dominum pretium pauperet (etc.)

Since the omissions overlap we have a hole still, and editors have to rely on a quotation by Nonius which, although it fills the hole, has its own crude errors including a syllable transposed from the following

[1] Cf. F. Haase, *Lucubrationes* 101, "In libris mss. quamquam creberrimum hoc est vitiorum genus, quod voces temere vel omissae vel additae sunt, tamen corrigere talia difficillimum est et maxime anceps" etc. This chapter of Haase's little book—"Caput vi (101–115). De emendationibus, quae fiunt vocibus vel omittendis vel addendis"—concerns mainly "addenda": the "omittenda" are particles and the like. Here as elsewhere in this book, Haas exhibits exemplary good sense and caution. This is a fine instance of a very old monograph that deserves still to be read. He abstains from positing editorial work by creative copyists, but confines himself to mechanical error; he distinguishes carefully between those examples about which he feels more, and those of which he feels less or not at all, certain; above all, he never emends without adducing good parallels for the desired text. Thus, few passages are discussed, but those tend to haunt the memory.

line!—(codd. Nonii 415 iii 11, p. 50) "quae *im*proba est mers pretium ei*s* statui*s* pro virtute ut *neviant.*"

Greek copyists generally, and Thuc. copyists in particular, seem never quite so wretched; still, in view of their performance, for example, at 5.47, one would like to know roughly how often they can be caught in the act, at least in capital MSS.

The lists in this Appendix include omissions (also a few other mechanical disruptions) long enough to have necessitated the ellipse symbol (. . .) in the app. crit. to Hude's *Editio maxima*. The examples were found there and in works on the stemma (including Alberti's study of Valla). Seven of the nine items in list (B) are cited by Alberti in "Qu. T." I. p. 37 n. 1. Since Hude does not always use that ellipse symbol, and since some omissions are not noticed by him, the lists are almost certainly not complete; but at least in the longer lists, I doubt that the incompleteness is such as to be seriously misleading.

There are obvious reasons for collecting the evidence about longer *beta* and *Theta* omissions (lists 6 and 11). The other lists are here given (a) as showing roughly the frequency of long omissions in the capital MSS; (b) as showing clearly the mechanical process (this sometimes illuminates particular passages: see e.g. list 7, item 14); (c) as showing, more clearly than does other corruption, the basic truth of (and some difficulties with) the stemma diagram. Then, not least, (d) as giving possible hints about the lineation of lost exemplars: a thing that now and then it would be extremely helpful to know (e.g., when speculating about a transposition, or when deciding whether a clause has been interpolated in the MSS that have it or, rather, wrongly omitted by the others.) One would have to scrutinize not only large omissions but also repetitions (as e.g. in list 2) and transpositions, both certain and putative (about these I have not collected information).

LINEATION. As need scarcely be said, an attempt to estimate line-lengths is usually most hazardous. Still, it seems possible with M and C (or CG); and perhaps not impossible with others. In any case, *THETA* lineation would be revealed by the errors of *alpha* or *beta*. (But a *beta* error means not only EFABM but also—since M repairs *beta* omissions when alerted by a scholium—EFAB; and perhaps at times even—since E too is contaminated—FAB: hence I list all those.) *ALPHA* lineation could be reflected in errors of CG and at times—

since G is contaminated—of C only.[2] *BETA* lineation could, theoretically, be reflected in errors of E, by those of FAB, and by those of M (i.e. of *gamma, delta* and *beta 1*: here the difficulty is obvious: too many MSS intervene between M and *beta*).[3]

The worst difficulties are always these: (A) that of knowing whether it was whole lines that were omitted. For *a copyist's eye*, especially when misled by a strong *homoiotes, may skip from anywhere in one line to anywhere in another.*[4] See for example the example from Cicero MSS given above in Ch. X, Section 3 init.: there one easily sees why Clark eschewed the terms "homoioteleuton," "-arcton" and "-meson" as potentially misleading (i.e. when applied not to word- but to line-endings), and preferred the ugly word *homoiotes* (which I use following his example). Then (B), even when one does feel certain of a line-length, still *it is hard to know which one of its many ancestors a MS is thus giving information about.* Often, when we seem to detect several different units, we are getting information about several ancestors (and some perhaps are very old, uncial MSS, having conceivably a very short line-length).[5]

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[2] The exact relation between C and G is still disputed. Dover and Romilly (e.g.) thought G, which is a later MS and very heavily contaminated, a descendant of C; but the consensus is still that G copied from *alpha* (see Appendix V, 2).

[3] So, perhaps the difficulties are too great. But in general, the data given in this Appendix seem often a tantalizing puzzle which I can only rarely piece together (e.g. List 2, first item), but which someone else, using the same data, might cleverly solve.

In my lists, I skip the relatively few and uninteresting peculiar omissions of A and those of B, as shedding no possible light on the hyparchetypes (whereas C omissions, for example, are given because they always just might reflect *alpha*; or E, *beta*). M omissions are listed as abnormally instructive, and because of the stemmatic importance of that MS.

[4] For that reason the most impressive instances of omission—those most likely to reflect a line-length—tend to be those that show no *homoiotes*. This is a condition insisted on by Aubrey Diller, "Incipient Errors in Manuscripts," *TAPA* 67 (1936) 232–239. But this condition is mandatory only when the examples are too few. If there are two omissions of 36 letters apiece, abetted by *homoiotes*, nothing at all is proven; if there are half a dozen such instances, we must have a line-length.

[5] This phenomenon too was studied by Clark, op. cit. passim. (It was under Clark's influence that Hemmerdinger began to imagine an uncial proarchetype having tiny columns of approx. 110 letters apiece [discussed above, ch. X, 3–4]. The trouble is that, as Clark makes clear, the "evidence" for such things is ambiguous unless it is very abundant. Hemmerdinger had but three examples, one of which was wrong and one doubtful.) Cf. Turner *Greek Papyri* 63: "Certain types of literature were customarily written in columns of definite widths: in well-written prose texts of history or oratory or philosophy, the length of line is usually fairly short, often only 15 to 25 letters."

Thirdly (C) *individual letters have different sizes; there may or may not have been abbreviations; and the line-length can fluctuate greatly in a single MS.*

When imagining line-lengths in very old MSS, particularly in the case of single-line omissions, one should bear in mind that iotas (for example) often take much less space than other letters, while omega or phi (for example, tend to take much more space. Then, in some MSS, as in some papyri, the line-length is extremely regular, in other MSS, as in some papyri, very uneven. E.g. in one 10th-c. Thuc. MS a typical sequence: 29 letters, 30, 29, 28, 29, 28, 32 (this has 5 iotas), 29, 29, 28, 31. On the other hand (as is well known) the early 10th-c. codex C (the Laurentian) is carelessly and cursively written. In a page of 25 lines covering the passage 1.11.2 ἀντεῖχον-1.13.1 μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον the average line-length is 40.5 letters; but the sequence of letters per line (not counting subscript iotas which CG peculiarly omit) is this: 41, 42, 38, 46, 42, 44, 40, 35, 39, 38, 40, 45, 43, 38, 37, 44, 40, 41, 40, 38, 47, 41, 46, 39, 38. The main reason for the irregularity is that towards the end of a line, in order to make the line-end coincide with a unit of sense (long word, phrase, sentence), C either writes more spaciously (e.g. in the line of 35 letters and in that of 36: both end a sentence) or crowds and abbreviates the letters. Thus in this passage C has abbreviations, and interlinear syllables, almost only at line-ends.[6]

But these and other difficulties, though serious, are not necessarily fatal. For one thing, very generally, most lost 10th-c. hyparchetypes are likely to have been more carefully written than C.[7] Possible line-lengths seem discernible e.g. in the cases of E (list 3) and M (lists 1 and 2). But in this Appendix it seems best merely to present the data, free of my own speculations.

So I print the lists without further discussion (except in List 2). In calculating the number of letters omitted, iota subscripts, which old MSS usually had as adscript, are counted as letters.[8] The omitted

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[6] Cf. the crowding at line-ends in P.Oxy. 844 (Isocrates, 1st–2nd cent.; notice also the very unneven line-lengths in this same papyrus); and cf. the remarks of Turner, *Greek MSS of the Ancient World* p. 21. It is doubtless in part for this reason that, even though they are purely mechanical in origin, many lacunae even in prose texts exactly coincide with a unit of sense (long phrase, clause). Just as in verse, an omission need not be betrayed by the grammar. It was partly a curiosity about the frequency of this that caused me to make this Appendix.

[7] Cf. Dain *Les Manuscrits* 135 ff., on what he calls "prototypes," i.e. particularly handsome copies from which other MSS were copied.

[8] The notorious omission of subscript iotas by CG is exceptional. In any case

words are underlined. Generally I quote from some letters before (and sometimes, after) each omission, in order to show either the *homoiotes* that helped to cause it, or the absence of any *homoiotes*. I put the sign == before a passage number where omission has no apparent cause (i.e. the *homoiotes* is tiny or nonexistent). Most often I print the Greek without regard to the context or even grammar (i.e. except in some examples where omission does not seem caused by a *homoiotes*. Usually such omission too was plainly mechanical—the copyist skipped a line—but see e.g. list 1, item 6.)

The information usually comes from Hude's apparatus; but this is sometimes supplemented with details I found elsewhere. Now and then in the cases of multiple omissions, to one's exasperation, different scholars record differently the same omission; thus (to give but one example) the EFAB omission at 4.75.1, where Hude has "add. a_2 f_2," Alberti (*Historiae* ci) "in marg. add M Fφ". I put "add. mg. M f a"; for I assume that Hude was right about the addition in A (i.e., that Alberti ignores it, as not bearing on the point he is making), and that Alberti is right about that in M (i.e. that Hude overlooked it).[9]

In each list but (2) the omissions are presented in order of increasing size (i.e. number of letters). I do this in case the lists provide clues to the line-lengths of exemplars; and also because, for some reason, now and then several omissions of a certain length have a certain family resemblance. E.g. note how (as a rough general rule) *the longer the omission, the stronger the* homoiotes *that causes it*: so that e.g. in list 1 examples 16–22 have each a *homoiotes* of not less than 12—and most often many more—letters; while in examples 3–4, there is none.

List i: simple omissions of M

M was despised by Poppo, who put it in his fourth class of MSS (the genus "depravatum") and singles it out with the comment "nullius plane

there are rarely more than five or six of these per hundred letters; often only two or three.

[9] I assume that one can never know the exact truth about such matters, except by oneself collating all the MSS in every place. For of course inevitably, and rightly, every scholar omits whatever it seems to him pointless or too tiresome to record. (Thus, often I myself skip such details as "add. M f a"; I include them in the list of *beta* omissions only because of our difficulty in understanding all of them: on this see Appendix V section 2).

auctoritatis."[10] One reason is its frequent pure omissions which are here listed. (See also the curious GM omission: List 9.)

1) 2.32.1.: om. 33 letters: . . . ἑάλω ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων. Ἐτειχίσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντη ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων

2) 8.68.2: om. 36: . . . ἐπειδὴ μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων (κ.τ.λ.) (See Ch. II, 11)

==3) 4.106.1: om. 36: . . . ἡγούμενοι οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ σφίσι τὰ δεινὰ εἶναι καὶ ἅμα οὐ προσδεχόμενοι βοήθειαν ἐν τάχει, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ὅμιλος πόλεώς τε ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ . . .

==4) 5.47.11: om. 41: . . . Ὀλυμπίοις τοῖς νυνί. ἐὰν δέ τι δοκῇ ἄμεινον εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις προσθεῖναι πρὸς τοῖς ξυνκειμένοις, . . . (I point out here only—what may be noticed in other examples—an abnormal frequency of iotas, which tend to take less space than other letters.)

(5) 3.94.1: om. ?42 (35 if τριάκοντα abbr.): οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατείχοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα νεῶν Ἀθηναῖοι

==6) 1.7: om. 43 (?): . . . τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο καὶ
τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκαστοι ἰσχύος.

(According to Hude both καί's were omitted: thus, 43 letters, no *homoiotes*. But in such a case, one might suspect that only the 2nd καί was omitted, then the other deleted by a later copyist as senseless. Of course we have no way of knowing; I merely point to the possibility. Cf. List 10, 3rd item.)

7) 3.77.3–3.78: om. 48: . . . τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὧν ἦσαν αἱ δύο Σαλαμινία καὶ Πάραλος. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι κακῶς κ.τ.λ.

==8) 8.69.3: om. 49: . . . καὶ Καρυστίων τριακόσιοι καὶ Αἰγινητῶν τῶν ἐποίκων, οὓς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπεμψαν οἰκήσοντες, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἥκοντες κ.τ.λ.

9) 4.4.1: om. 51: . . . ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις κοινώσας, ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, μέχρι αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις σχολάζουσιν ὁρμὴ ἐνέπεσε κ.τ.λ.

==10) 6.12.1: om. 53: . . . δίκαιον ἐν-θάδε εἶναι ἀναλοῦν καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν φυγάδων τῶνδε ἐπικουρίας δεομένων

==11) 4.22.2: om. 54: Κλέων . . . λέγων γιγνώσκειν μὲν καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας δίκαιον αὐτούς, σαφὲς δ' εἶναι καὶ νῦν, οἵτινες τῷ μὲν πλήθει οὐδὲν ἐθέλουσιν εἰπεῖν . . .

12) 3.23.1: om. 57: ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν ἀνεβεβήκεσαν καὶ τοῦ πύργου ἑκατέρου τοὺς φύλακας διαφθείραντες ἐκεκρατήκεσαν . . .

13) 5.16.2: om. 70 (2x36=72): . . . τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπηντιῶντο αὐτὸν πεῖσαι μετ' Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὥστε χρῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις . . .

14) 7.41.1: om. 77: . . . διὰ τῶν ὁλκάδων τὴν κατάφευξιν. . . . τῶν ὁλκάδων

15) 7.17.2: om. 79: . . . ναῦς ἐπεσκευασμένοι (sic) . . . ναῦς

16) 8.23.4: om. 106 (? 3x36=108): . . . ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν . . . ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν

17) 8.101.2: om. 109 (3x36=108): . . . παραπλεύσαντες τὴν Κύμαιαν . . . παραπλεύσαντες τὴν Κύμαιαν

18) 2.54.4–5 om. 130: Λακεδαιμονίων χρηστηρίου . . . τοῦ χρηστηρίου

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[10] Poppo *Ed. major*, pars II, vol. 1 p. 62. (On Poppo and the relations between MSS, see Appendix V, 1.) Cp. Marchant Book 2 p. xxii, "The writing [i.e. the handwriting in M] is very good, but there are constant and absurd blunders."

19) 1.10.4: om. 145 (4x36=144): τὰς δὲ Φιλοκτήτου ... ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκτήτου
20) 1.55.1: om. 148 (4x36=144): ἐπ' οἴκου Ἀνακτόριον ... ἐπ' οἴκου
21) 1.54.2: om. 153 (?4x36) ..., καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον, ἀνελόμενοι ... καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐ κατέπλεον (sic ABFM: οὐκ ἀντέπλεον cett.)
22) 5.41.2: om. 210 (=6x35) ὥσπερ πρότερον ... ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον

[N.B. re items (16) and (17): in both places, curiously, a *homoiotes* that caused M to omit approx. 110 letters, is itself the result of similar errors, made over a similar space, by prior MSS (sse Ch. X, 4): cf. on 8.68.2 and 8.71.1, in both of which places M's "testimony" means nothing.]

LIST 2: MECHANICAL INTERPOLATION IN M

In each of these passages, a *homoiotes* misled the copyist's eye backwards, so that he began repeating a piece of text already written. (The number given in parenthesis before each example is that of letters thus skipped backwards: i.e., from after the first to after the second *homoiotes*). When he notices his error, he returns to the later passage and resumes copying, at the place where he had been before his eye was distracted.

But in several places, one or two other things happened: (A) even after noticing the error(?), he continues to interpolate; and the new bit of interpolation does not come from that prior passage, but comes either from some other place obscure to me, or out of his own head (i.e. it is put for the sake of the sense; e.g. 8.42–3. For examples of such repeated words dubiously "adapted" to their new contexts see also Newman II pp. xvi–xvii.) And in four places, (B) a piece of text in the later passage is not merely postponed by, but actually replaced by, the interpolation.[11]

I begin with an abnormally clear (though complex) specimen, in case it might illuminate those that are harder. For here one sees exactly what could have happened:

2.67.3–4. I print so as to show—if one see past the interpolation, which I bracket—the lineation of the exemplar that preceded the corruption. The numbers are those of letters per line. (The length of the OCT from 67.3 Θρᾴκης to 67.4 Θρᾴκης is 355 letters: = probably 10 lines of 35 or 36 letters apiece):

> 2.67.3 ... ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς πορευομένους αὐτοὺς
> διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ᾧ ἔμελλον τὸν (35)
> Ἑλλήσποντον περαιώσειν, πρὶν ἐσβαίνειν (34)
> ξυλλαμβάνει, ἄλλους ξυμπέμψας ... [then 6 lines; then:]
> 2.67.4 ... ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὰ τῆς Ποτειδαίας

[11] Cf. also on 4.16.1. Why does this happen? Perhaps a copyist, though he has noticed his error of repetition, does not wish to disfigure his page, and hopes that no Corrector will notice the error. So after noticing it himself, he simply resumes copying without either deleting or inserting too many, too obviously "extra," words. Another possibility: a repetition is marked for excision—but the marks are misunderstood and the wrong phrase excised. Cf. also the passage from Havet quoted in Ch. I init.

καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης [ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ᾧ ἔμελλον (35)
τὸν' Ἑλλήσποντον περαιώσειν, πρὶν ἐσβαίνειν (37)
καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης] πάντα ἐφαίνετο πράξας . . .

Thus, in 67.4, after writing ἐσβαίνειν the copyist noticed that he was again copying part of 67.3, and stopped that; but he did not simply continue with πάντα ἐφαίνετο etc. but went back to the beginning of the line into which (so to speak) he had begun interpolating. Hence, not one but two repetitions (ἐπὶ . . . ἐσβαίνειν and καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης). Plainly, here the initial error was caused by similar line-beginnings rather than—what is much commoner—by similar line-endings.

In most of the following examples I assume homoioteleuton (though in some the lineation seems utterly uncertain). I proceed roughly from the simpler—those in which there is merely repetition—to the more complex. The initial number given in parenthesis is that of the OCT letters skipped backwards by *saut du même au même.* Sometimes, this seems to betray the line-length; but sometimes, in these examples, one must also consider the other factors.

6.69.3 (112, i.e. (?) 3x36=108) Pergaps homoioarcton:

. . . Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ
τῶν ξυμμάχων οἱ αὐτόνομοι ξυγκτήσασθαί τε (36)
ἐκείνοις ἐφ' ἃ ἦλθον καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφίσι (37)
πατρίδα νικήσαντες πάλιν ἐπιδεῖν· τὸ δ' ὑπήκοον (39)
τῶν ξυμμάχων [οἱ αὐτόνομοι] μέγιστον μὲν (κ.τ.λ.)

But if homoioteleuton, then e.g.:

. . . Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων
οἱ αὐτόνομοι ξυγκτήσασθαί τε ἐκείνοις ἐφ' ἃ
ἦλθον καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν σφίσι πατρίδα νικήσαν-
τες πάλιν ἐπιδεῖν· τὸ δ' ὑπήκοον τῶν ξυμμάχων
[οἱ αὐτόνομοι] μέγιστον μὲν (κ.τ.λ.)

3.35.1–2 (127): (35.1) . . . ἐδόκει *εἶναι* . . . (35.2) . . . ἐδόκει [*εἶναι*] . . . (Possibly, more a "mental" than a purely "mechanical" error [see Ch. IX section 1], so that lineation is not reflected.)

8.42–3 (130) . . . ξυμπάσαις πλεύσαντες
καὶ τροπαῖον ἐν τῇ Σύμῃ στήσαντες (30)
πάλιν ἐς τὴν Κνίδον καθωρμίσαντο. οἱ δὲ (32)
Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ναυσὶ πάσαις, (33)
ὡς ᾔσθοντο τὰ τῆς ναυμαχίας, πλεύσαντες (34)
[καὶ τροπαῖον ἐν τῇ Σύμῃ στήσαντες ἀπῆλθον], (37)
λάβοντες δὲ τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Σύμῃ σκεύη . . . ἀπέπλευσαν . . .

THE INTERP. REPLACED:
ἐς τὴν Σύμην καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ ναυτι-(36)
κὸν οὐχ ὁρμήσαντες, οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπ' ἐκείνους (36)
λάβοντες δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σύμῃ σκεύη κ.τ.λ.

Here lineation seems uncertain (I print for clarity's sake only); but the significant

number, that which may point to the exemplar's lineation, seems 36. Ἀπῆλθον seems plainly, ominously, a grammatical stop-gap!

6.55.1–2: 137 (4x34=136):

> ἐν ᾗ Θεσσάλου μὲν οὐδ' Ἱππάρχου οὐδεὶς παῖς
> γέγραπται, **Ἱππίου δὲ πέντε**, οἳ αὐτῷ ἐκ Μυρ-
> ρίνης τῆς Καλλίου τοῦ Ὑπεροχίδου θυγατρὸς
> ἐγένοντο· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτατον πρῶ-
> τον γῆμαι. Καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στήλῃ πρῶτος (33)
> γέγραπται [**Ἱππίου δὲ πέντε**] οὐδὲ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.
>
> INTERP. REPLACED: μετὰ τὸν πατέρα

4.104.3–4. (144) Here the OCT from οἱ δὲ to οἱ δὲ is an exact multiple of 36: that must have been the exemplar's line-length. But about other features of the lineation I feel unsure (the printing below is *exempli gratia*).

> 4.104.3 . . . ὡς προσεδέχετο ἀπέβαινεν, ἡσύχαζεν·
> **οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοι τοῖς προδιδοῦσι, κρατοῦντες** (36)
> **τῇ πλήθει** ὥστε μὴ αὐτίκα τὰς πύλας ἀνοίγεσ- (36)
> θαι, πέμπουσι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ὃς (37)
> ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν παρῆν αὐτοῖς φύλαξ τοῦ χωρίου, (36)
> [**οἱ δὲ ἐναντίοι τοῖς προδιδοῦσι, κρατοῦντες**
> **τῇ πλήθει** ἡσύχαζον·] ἔστι δε ἡ νῆσος κ.τ.λ.
>
> INTERP. REPLACED:
> ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, (34)
> Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψεν, (35)
> ὄντα περὶ Θάσον. ἔστι δε ἡ νῆσος κ.τ.λ.

Why did the dittography cause the omission of the clause about Thuc.? Also, why is it followed by a repetition (?) of ἡσύχαζον? Might that have been (at least at first) a *Stichwort*, an *Anfangswort des Verses*, written in the margin by a corrector to show where an omitted line must be inserted? (Cf. Brinkmann's article cited above Ch. X, 5 init.)

8.30.1–2 (194. 5x36=180):

> (30.1) . . . καὶ Στρομβιχίδης καὶ Εὐκτήμων
> **καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Χίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ξυνα-**
> **γάγοντες ἐβούλοντο. . . .**
> (30.2) Στρομβιχίδης μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ὀνομάκλης καὶ Εὐκτήμων
> [**καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Χίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ξυνα-**
> **γάγοντες** (40)] καὶ τῶν ἐς Μιλήτων ἐλθόντων ὁπλιτῶν μέρος ἄγοντες . . .
>
> INTERP. REPLACED: τριάκοντα ναῦς ἔχοντες (20)

4.14.5–4.15.1. The following example is akin to the others in all respects, except in this: initially, instead of being distracted to a piece of text *already copied*, the copyist's eye (misled by a strong homoiotes) jumped 315 letters (+ 7 subscript iotas) *ahead* to a line *not yet copied*, which he then wrote too early, before noticing his error (cf. Ch. X, 3).

The small secondary interpolation ἦσαν is puzzling. It seems present from purely mechanical causes, because it is senseless; but where did it come from? (From ἔστησαν?—or ἐκράτησαν?) Perhaps there is more than one layer

of corruption. Also, the exemplar's line-length seems uncertain.

(4.14.5) καταστάντες δὲ ἑκάτεροι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
[βουλεύειν παραχρῆμα ὁρῶν ἦσαν (26)]
οἱ μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν (22) καὶ νε-
κροὺς ἀπέδοσαν καὶ ναυαγίων ἐκράτησαν (38). . . .
. . . .
(4.15.1). . . . καταβάντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
βουλεύειν παραχρῆμα ὁρῶντας ὅτι ἂν δοκῇ. (κ.τ.λ.)

Also, at 1.25.1 he repeats 44 letters immediately: . . . ποιεῖσθαι [ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλε παραδοῦναι καὶ ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι]

List 3: E omissions (add. E2)

1) 5.9.7–8: om. 24: ὡς τάχιστα ξυμμεῖξαι. ἐλπὶς γὰρ μάλιστα . . .

2) 7.80.6: om. 27: . . . πρὸς ἄλλον ποταμὸν τὸν Ἐρινεόν· ταύτῃ γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐκέλευον.

3) 4.51: om. 32: καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα καὶ ἕβδομον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκ. ξυνέγραψεν.

==4) 3.21.1: om 33, 26: ἐκ τοῦ προσιέναι αὐτοὺς ἀντιπαταγοῦντος τοῦ ἀνέμου οὐ κατακουσάντων. ἅμα δὲ καὶ διέχοντες πολὺ ἦσαν, ὅπως . . .

5) 7.57.6: om. 33: . . . ἀμφότεροι οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κυθήριοι ἐπὶ Λακ. κ.τ.λ.

==6) 6.85.3.: om. 35: ἐς Συρακοσίους δέος καθίστασθαι. ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἐφιένται ὑμῶν . . . [Here and in (7) and (8), almost surely a unit of 36 or 18.]

7) 5.67.2: om. 36: . . . Ἀργεῖοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν, Κλεωναῖοι . . .

8) 8.23.6: om. 36: . . . Κλαζο- μενίων τὴν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Πολίχναν τειχιζομένην . . . [Dover *CQ* (1934) 77 here supposed complex corruption!]

9) 4.86.1: om. 38: . . . ξυμμάχους ἔσεσθαι αὐτονόμους καὶ ἅμα οὐχ ἵνα ξυμμάχους . . .

==10) 4.45.1: om. 40 (if no abbr.): ἔπλευσεν αὐθημερὸν ἐς Κρομμυῶνα τῆς Κορινθίας· ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους. καὶ καθορμισάμενοι κ.τ.λ. (This omission, perhaps, was not mechanical? It is hard to see a mechanical cause.)

11) 3.57.3: om 44: ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ νῦν ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς πρὶν φιλτάτοις Θηβαίων ἡσσώμεθα

==12) 4.129.5: om. 46: ταύτῃ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν οἱ Μενδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναχωρήσαντες etc.

List 4: A B (*epsilon*) omissions

2.91.2 AB om. 15: φθάσασα καὶ περιπλεύσασα

5.47.8 om. 19: καὶ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τούτων

5.6.4 om. 48: . . . πελταστὰς καὶ ἱππέας· καὶ Μυρκινίων καὶ Χαλκιδέων χιλίους πελταστὰς εἶχε . . .

List 5: F A B (*delta*) omissions
(Some of thcsc could conceivably bc *beta* omissions, since E and M both collated. N.B. how little homoiotes)

==2.78.1: om. 17: . . . μέρος μέν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸ δὲ πλέον (λοιπὸν E M grG) ἀφέντες περιετείχιζον . . . (On this and the next sentence see indcx.)

==3.80.1: om. 24: ἐπλήρωσαν γὰρ ὅμως τριάκοντα προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν. οἱ δὲ Πελοπ. etc. (A *beta* omission: see Kleinlogel p. 123)

5.47.2: om. 28 (& om. C: hab. GEM, inscription: that the phrasc was in Theta does not sccm quite certain): τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους

2.46.1: om. 36: . . . εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὅσα εἶχον προσφορά, καὶ ἔργῳ οἱ ctc.

==4.46.3: om. 48 (add. f2): . . . πεμφθῶσιν ὥστ' ἐάν τις ἁλῷ ἀποδιδράσκων, ἅπασι λέλυσθαι τὰς σπονδάς. οἱ δὲ etc.

List 6: *beta* (E F A B M and E F A B) omissions
(E F A B = beta because M repairs omissions when alerted by a *beta* [= F A B] scholium: Kleinlogel *Geschichte* 123–4, cf. Alberti *Historiae* ci)

?5.77.2: MEFABH om. 21: πολεμίως ἦμεν τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμάχοις (κ.τ.λ.)

3.64.5: FBM om. 31: (add. Fl in mg., add. B in mg.): μηδισμὸν καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον ἑκούσιον ἀττικισμὸν (See Kleinlogel 124 n. 33: he thinks it perhaps "eine alte, marginale ergänzte β-Lücke")

==4.110.2: EFABM om. 30: οὐ κατέδεισαν ἐσελθεῖν· ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Λυσίστρατος Ὀλύνθιος, οἳ κ.τ.λ.

2.62.2 (*transposition*) 33: κωλύσει post βασιλεὺς hab. EFABM. This is most easily intelligible if a line was skippcd and *Theta* looked like this:

τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πλέοντας ὑμᾶς οὔτε **βασιλεὺς**
οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔθνος τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι (33)
κωλύσει ὥστε κ.τ.λ.

1.85.2: EFAB om. 33 (add. A[1] B e): . . . δίκας δοῦναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν διδόντα οὐ πρότερον νόμιμον ὡς ἐπ' ἀδικοῦντα

4.75.1: EFAB om. 35 (add. mg. M f a): ξυναγείραντες ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων στρατίαν καὶ πλεύσαντες (See Albcrti, *Historiae* ci: he thinks thc supplement from *Lambda* or *Phi*, written in thc margin of *beta 1*).

2.9.2: EFABM (add. mg. f M) om. 44: πάντες πλὴν Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν (τούτοις δὲ ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φιλία ἦν· Πελληνῆς δὲ Ἀχαιῶν . . .

1.39.3–1.40.1 (?): EFAB[M] om. 64 (or 65), 30: More probably a *Theta* omission: see below, List 11, and scc index s.v.):

4.77.1–2 EFAB om. (& add. mg.) 286! (=8x36 or 9x32): Σίφας . . . Σίφας

Notc also a word interpolated by EFAB at 8.58.6 Λακ. δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους κωλύειν: *beta* plainly repeated thc infinitivc mechanically from 8.58.4 Λακ. καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους κωλύειν, the intcrvening space being 373 lctters!

List 7: C omissions (add. C2)

(Note that, since G collated, some of these could be *alpha* omissions.)

1) 6.25.2: om. 24: . . . οὐκ ἐλάσσοσιν, ἣν δέ τι δύνωνται, καὶ πλέοσιν·

2) 5.9.9: om. 27: . . . Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμάχοις κεκλῆσθαι, ἢ Ἀθηναίων τε . . .

3) 8.67.3: om. 28 (if no abbr.): προέδρους τε ἑλέσθαι πέντε ἄνδρας, τούτους δὲ ἑλέσθαι ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ . . .

4) 7.58.4: om. 28: . . . διὰ μεγεθός τε πόλεως καὶ ὅτι ἐν μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ ἦσαν καὶ αἱ μὲν κ.τ.λ. (Editors usually say, "καὶ . . . ἦσαν om. C," which is misleading. Cf. item 14 below.)

5) 1.128.3: om. 33: . . . Ἑλλήσποντον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ . . .

==6) 5.115.2: om. 35: . . . ἔλαβον· καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς . . .

7) 6.10.1: om. 35: . . . ὑπολιπόντας καὶ ἑτέρους ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐκεῖσε πλεύσαντας . . .

8) 5.68.3: om. 36 (if no abbr.): . . . τέσσαρες, καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστύι ἐνωμοτίαι τέσσαρες.

==9) 3.103.1: om. 45: καὶ ὅσοι Σικελῶν ἀρχόμενοι ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων καὶ ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἀποστάντες αὐτοῖς [ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων] ξυμπολέμουν. (C1 ipse add. καὶ ξ. ὄντες ἀπὸ et alia quaedam postea erasa; cetera in litura add c2 [see on this sentence in Ch. X.])

10) 8.75.2: om. 47: . . . ὁμονοήσειν καὶ τὸν πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμον προθύμως διοίσειν

11) 8.100.2: om. 53: . . . ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου τοὺς ἐπίπλους τῇ Χίῳ ποιησόμενος. ἅμα δὲ (Ἔρεσος γὰρ τῆς Λέσβου . . .

12) 2.29.5: om. 55: Ἀθηναίοις Ἱππέων τε καὶ πελταστῶν. ξυνεβίβασε δὲ καὶ Περδίκκαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις

13) 5.47.11: om. 61: . . . ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ ἱερῷ, Μαντινέας δὲ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ . . .

14) 8.104.2: om. 62 (if no abbr.): νῆες ἓξ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, οἱ δ' αὖ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀπὸ Ἀβύδου μέχρι Δαρδάνου, νῆες ἓξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα . . .

N.B.: Here the OCT and other app. critt. are very misleading (CG have the "reading" ἓξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα—but not because anyone ever thought that the right number!); nor did Arnold, who accurately conjectured the number 68 from the ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑξήκοντα given by M E F A B, understand the nature of that corruption, plainly introduced by *beta*. Cf. item 4 above)

15) 8.18.2: om. 76: καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις . . . καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις

16) 5.47.2: om. 124: ξυμμάχους . . . ἐπὶ ξυμμάχους τέχνῃ . . .

List 8: "add. G¹"

(An idiosyncratic copyist: notice how slight or nonexistent the *homoioles* in all but items 10, 12 and 13)

==1) 3.93.3: om. 25 (add. in litura): . . . ἀφικούμενοι τε πράγματά τε ἔφθειρον καὶ ἐς ὀλιγανθρωπίαν κατέστησαν

==2) 2.74.1: om. 26: ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ γῆν τεμνομένην, εἰ δεῖ, καὶ ἄλλο πάσχοντας ὅ τι ἂν ξυμβαίνει· ἐξελθεῖν τε μηδένα ἔτι, ἀλλ' . . .

==3) 5.111.2–3: om. 29: ἄλλο τι τῶνδε σωφρονέστερον γνώσεσθε. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπί γε τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ προύπτοις κινδύνοις . . . αἰσχύνην . . . τρέψεσθε . . .

4) 4.103.3: om. 32: . . . (εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ' Αργίλιοι 'Ανδρίων ἄποικοι) καὶ ἄλλοι οἳ ξυνέπρασσον ταῦτα

5) 4.63.1: om. 34: ἀποπέμπωμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἐς ἀίδιον ξυμβῶμεν

==6) 7.36.5–6: om. 34: . . . καὶ ταύτην δι' ὀλίγου καὶ ἐς ὀλίγον κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἑαυτῶν· τοῦ δ' ἄλλου λιμένος αὐτοὶ κρατήσειν, κ.τ.λ.

==7) 3.17.2: om. 35: καὶ ἐφύλασσσον καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἕτεραι ἑκατὸν ἦσαν, χωρὶς δὲ. . . .

8) 5.47.4: om. 39: . . ., καθ' ὅτι ἂν ἐπαγγέλωσιν αἱ πόλεις αὗται, τρόπῳ ὁποίῳ ἂν δύνωνται κ.τ.λ.

==9) 3.10.4: om. 40: . . . τῶν 'Ελλήνων 'Αθηναίοις ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς "Ελλησι. καὶ μέχρι μὲν κ.τ.λ. (One suspects that here the *homoiotes* was 'Αθηναί- (the ending perhaps abbreviated) and καὶ. (Cf. 11)

10) 5.59.3–4: om. 42: οὐ γάρ πω οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι μόνοι τῶν ξυμμάχων ἧκον. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν 'Αργείων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων. . . .

==11) 7.3.2: om. 43: . . . εἶναι σπένδεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀπέπεμψαν

12) 6.88.1: om. 56: . . . τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸ ὅμορον διάφοροι· δεδιότες δ' οὐχ ἧσσον τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἐγγὺς ὄντες . . .

13) 4.118.3: om. 65: χρώμενοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ βουλόμενοι, τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρώμενοι . . .

14) Also 5.47.11 after 'Αργείους δὲ ἐν ἀγορᾷ cod. G writes (30 litt.) καταθέντων δὲ καὶ 'Ολυμπίασι στήλην as C had done, then deletes this and writes ἐν τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος etc. (61) that C had om. (These two numbers—30, 61—must thus indicate a line-length.)

List 9: G M omission (i.e. ß²?)

===1.8.3: om. 30: καί τινες καὶ τείχη περιεβάλλοντο ὡς πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι· ἐφιέμενοι γὰρ τῶς κερδῶν κ.τ.λ. A curious exception to the rule that, normally, lacunae are not taken from collation exemplars. It is as if G's exemplar had here copied from (not merely collated with) *beta* 3. Alberti *Hist.* xcviii does not seem to notice the oddity of this.

List 10: C G omissions

==4.73.2: om. 24: . . . κινδύνου ἑκόντας ἄρξαι, ἐπειδή γε ἐν φανερῷ ἔδειξαν ἑτοῖμοι ὄντες

??8.68.2: 36 om. CGM (possibly not, in fact, an *alpha* omission: see s.v. in Ch. II, 11) . . . καί αὐτός τε, ἐπειδὴ με-τέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνας κατέστη με-τὰ τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα κ.τ.λ.

5.84.2: om. 60 (n.b. only 1 iota): ὡς αὐτοὺς οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι δῃοῦντες τὴν γῆν,

ἐς πόλεμον φανερὸν κατέστησαν. στρατοπεδευσάμενοι οὖν ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ . . . This example is curious. May it not be that the exemplar lacked αὐτῶν, the misleading *homoiotes* was δῃοῦντες . . . οὖν ἐς, and not the second but the first τὴν γῆν was omitted?—so that e.g.:

ὡς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δῃοῦντες
τὴν γῆν ἐς πόλεμον φανερὸν κατέσ- (27)
τησαν στρατοπεδευσάμενοι οὖν ἐς (28)
τὴν γῆν τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ . . .

Or, if the *homoiotes* was τὴν γῆν, perhaps αὐτῶν was not mechanically omitted with the rest, but was ignored by a later copyist as superfluous.

5.59.2–3: om. 65: . . . οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀπειλημμένοι ἦσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἶργον . . .

3.65.1: 73 ("om. C(G), add. c2 τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν scribens—") τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν οὐ νομίζομεν . . . πρός τε τὴν πόλιν

List 11: omissions from *THETA*; from all MSS

8.22.2: om. 69 letters: hab. B, Valla: om. cett.: ἀφιστᾶσι . . . ἀφιστᾶσιν

1.39.3, 1.40.1: om. 65, 30 (see discussion in Ch. VIII, 5):

. . . κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν·
ἐγκλημάτων δὲ μόνων ἀμετόχως οὕτως τῶν
μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων μὴ κοινωνεῖν.
ὡς μὲν οὖν αὐτοί τε μετὰ προσηκόντων
τῶν τοῦ δικαίου κεφαλαίων πρὸς ὑμᾶς
ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἵδε βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκ-
ται εἰσὶ δεδήλωται

4.118.4: om. 56 (?3x18.66): hab. f M (i.e. Φ): ἔδοξε Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις κατὰ ταῦτα· τάδε δὲ ἔδοξε Λακ. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις

7.67.1: 41 hab. B, Π[18]: ἡ ἐλπίς· . . . ἡ μεγίστη ἐλπὶς

5.77.7: om. 38 (?2x19) (coni. Kirchhoff): ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσίονται ἐν τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ Ἀργεῖοι, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες (κτλ.)

?5.47.11: om. 37 (coni. Herw.) ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Ἠλείους δὲ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ

7.78.2: 18 hab. B, Valla: τεταγμένον πρῶτον μὲν ἡγούμενον

7.43.4: 16 hab. B, γρH: ἐν προτειχίσμασιν ἐν μὲν etc.

8.43.3: 16 hab. B, Valla: οὔτε τῆς Χαλχιδέως οὔτε

8.27.2: 15 hab. B, Valla: ἔσται ἀγωνίσασθαι ὅποι δὲ βουλήσονται

8.45.2: 14 hab. B, Valla: ἀπολείπωσιν οὐχ ὑπολιπόντες

8.32.1: 13 hab. B, Valla: καὶ χειμασθεισῶν καὶ πλανειθεισῶν

Then 5.47 (q.v.): five lacunae in peace treaty, exposed by inscription I.G. I[3] 83, of 12, 18 (ξυμμάχους ὧν ἄρχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι: no *homoiotes*), 17 (πόλιν μηδεμιᾷ τῶν πόλεων), 11, 11 and 7 letters. In addition there are well over 200 small omissions of words supplied only by B, recc., papyri and Valla. E.g. only Valla and Π[18] have rightly at 7.57.6 Δωριῆς Δωριεῦσι and at 7.60.3

ἀναγκάσαντες πάντας ἐσβαίνειν (cunctis ingredi adactis).

On *Theta* omissions, either possible or certain, see also my discussions of passages listed on the first page of this Appendix (especially 6.65.3, 8.101.2), also Haas as there cited (*Lucubrationes* 101–114); compare also the instances of dittography quoted in Ch. X passim.

Two uncertain, but still very interesting, possibilities have been pointed out by D.M. Lewis, who thought some clauses preserved by the indirect tradition (see his Princeton diss.; also his review of Kleinlogel in *Gnomon* 38 [1966] 134). Stephanus of Byzantium has s.v. Ἀκτή. . . . ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα (sc. Ἀκτή) Ἀκαρνανίας, ἧς μέμνηται Δημνάγητος. ἔστι καὶ Πελοποννήσου, ὡς Θουκυδίδης, (κτλ.). But our text of Thuc. mentions no Peloponnesian Acte, so that Stephanus' editor Meineke (*Ethnicorum Quae Supersunt*, Berlin 1849) here proposes, very unconvincingly, to emend Stephanus. But as Lewis noticed, Diodorus xii.43.1 seems closely based via Ephorus on Thuc. 2.25.1:

> προσγενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ πεντήκοντα τριήρων ἐκ τῆς Κερκύρας, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπόρθει τὴν Πελοποννεσίων χώραν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς παραθαλαττίου τὴν καλουμένην Ἀκτὴν ἐδῄου καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐνεπύριζε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πλεύσας ἐπὶ Μεθώνην (κτλ.)

> 2.25.1 οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ περὶ Πελ. Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Κερκυραῖοι μετ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ . . . ἄλλα τε ἐκάκουν περιπλέοντες < . . . ? . . . > καὶ ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακ. ἀποβάντες (κτλ.)

The other possibility (Lewis *JHS* 77 [1957] 329) is that B (i.e. *Omega*) at Thuc. 8.106.3 and Diodorus 13.40.5 agree in a similar error. This would be a valuable instance of early corruption. It is just interesting enough to print; but note well that here we have no Stephanus giving positive testimony, and Diodorus' list is not identical with that of Thuc. in all other respects; also, that even if Diodorus' copyists *are* at fault, the error could easily be coincidental, on account of the strength of the *homoiotes* that led to it:[12]

> ναῦς μέντοι τῶν ἐναντίων λανβάνουσι Χίας μὲν ὀκτώ, Κορινθίας δὲ πέντε, Ἀμπρακιώτιδας δύο καὶ Βοιωτίας δύο [om. B], Λευκαδίων δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Συρακοσίων καὶ Πελληνέων μίαν ἑκάστων.

> Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς ἔλαβον ὀκτὼ μὲν Χίων, πέντε δὲ Κορινθίων, Ἀμβρακιωτῶν δὲ δύο <καὶ Βοιωτίων δύο>, Συρακοσίων δὲ καὶ Πελληνέων καὶ Λευκαδίων μίαν ἑκάστων.

It seems proper, lastly, here to recall a good conjecture by Powell (*CR* 52 [1938] 3) at 6.65.3 καὶ οἱ Ἀθ. ἅμα ἕῳ ἐξέβαινον ἐς τὸ [sic E: τὸν C G F A B M] κατὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον. All editors followed Poppo in accepting the reading of E until Powell (apparently not knowing of any other reading but these two) protested (emphasis mine):

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[12] Lewis seems to forget that such coincidental errors are extremely common; cf. e.g. the many overlapping omissions by different MSS at 5.47; cf. the first page of this Appendix; also Aubrey Diller as cited in n. 4.

> The text is of course corrupt. To write τὸ was the easiest method of obtaining grammar, and was also hit upon by k, . . . a fifteenth-century MS independent of E . . . *Corruption of* τὸ *would be difficult to account for*, and editors produce no parallel for the clumsy expression ἐς τὸ κατὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον, in which the words ἐς τὸ are simply otiose. Probably a masculine accusative such as τόπον or αἰγιαλόν has fallen out by homoeoteleuton after Ὀλυμπιεῖον.

Probably, what fell out was μέγαν λιμένα preserved by H and other recc. (according to Arnold, Ar Pg R), and E has emended.[13]

Postcript. From the *index locorum* to this Appendix, which consists almost wholly of places where crude mechanical errors are certain, one may hazard a certain simple conclusion. In Book 1 there is one such error per 9.7 OCT pages; in 2, one per 6.72 pages; in 3, one per 5.46; in 4, one per 4.42; in 5, one per 2.86 pages (!); in 6, one per 8.62 (!); in 7, one per 5.58; in 8, one per 3.85. Apparently, these copyists of M, C, G, E and the hyparchetypes (etc.) were abnormally attentive in Books 1 and 6, bored and careless in 4, 5 and 8, especially 5 and 8.

One can further observe that of the 23 gross omissions in Book 5, only one (and that by G1, a notably careless copyist) occurs in the long Melian Dialogue. Also, that Book 8 would surpass 5 in badness if it quoted treaties.

Surely, it is hard not to suspect that those books which lack speeches, quote documents verbatim and give other signs of being "unfinished" have *always* bored copyists, inviting error: a fact which itself has probably caused much of their "raw" appearance.

[13] Luschnat, who stubbornly resisted all attempts to make use of the *recentiores*, felt "strong doubt that one can say in Greek ἐκβαίνω ἐς τὸν λιμένα" (preface to Book 1, p. 17 n. 1) and preferred the reading of E. But as Alberti says ("Qu. T." I, p. 52) it is hard to see the difference between the construction of H and that of E; and there is 2.92.3 ἐξέπεσεν ἐς τὸν Ναυπακτίων λιμένα. In any case, as I implied above, the decisive point is Powell's: a corruption of τὸ to τὸν seems unlikely.

APPENDIX TWO

CONFLATED SCHOLIA

In this book we have now and then glimpsed or suspected this phenomenon (e.g. in Ch. V section 4 on 3.52.2, section 6 on 5.22.2). One can see more exactly how it happens in the Aristophanes scholium that Merritt and Wade-Gery adduced in order to attack our MS text of Thuc. at 2.13.3.[1] This exists in four MSS, in which it becomes progressively more corrupt. I have already discussed the corruptions of particular words in its quotation from Thuc.; I here underline the nonsense caused by lost lemmata, followed by conflation:

Plut. 1191–95: . . . ἀλλὰ περίμενε
τὸν Πλοῦτον, οὗπερ πρότερον ἦν ἱδρυμένος
τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ.
ἀλλ᾽ ἐκδότω τις δεῦρο δᾷδας ἡμένας
ἵν᾽ ἔχων προηγῇ τῷ θεῷ σύ . . . (1195)

Ravenna Scholium (10th century): <τῆς θεοῦ·> τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφερον τὰ χρήματα κἀνταῦθα ἐφυλάττοντο, καθὰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης φησὶ ἐν τῆι β οὕτως· ὑπαρχόντων δὲ . . . ἐπανηλώθη.—τὸν ὀπισθόδομον· ἐπειδὴ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἀπέκειντο· μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὸ ταμιεῖον τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ.

Venetus Scholium (11th century) (wrongly keyed to 1192 τὸν Πλοῦτον. The key-references go back to its prototype): <τῆς θεοῦ·> τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δηλονότι· εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφερον τὰ χρήματα κἀνταῦθα ἐφυλάττοντο, καθὰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης φησὶ ἐν τῆι β οὕτως· ὑπαρχόντων δὲ . . . ἐπανηλώθη. ἄλλως· ὀπίσω τοῦ νεὼ διπλοῦς τοῖχος τῆς καλουμένης Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχων θύραν, ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον. ἄλλως· ἐπεὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῶι ὀπισθοδόμωι ἀπέκειτο μέρος δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὡς μέλλοντος προιέναι τοῦ πλούτου. (this last phrase, which should be τοῦτο δὲ ὡς μέλλοντος κ.τ.λ. has been transposed from 1195!)

The first ἄλλως is nonsense because it introduces an explanation of a different word, ὀπισθόδομον; the second ἄλλως introduces a different explanation of ὀπισθόδομον (this, no doubt, was taken originally

[1] See Ch. V, 2. I now quote from Merritt, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 187–8. Of course, the absurdities which I here examine have, as Merritt says, "no bearing on the place of the quotation from Thuc. in the tradition of the ancient scholia." Like Rutherford (whom he scolds for this, 189 n. 12), I merely find them "interesting."

from a different reference work!); then ὡς κτλ. is pure nonsense. Later, in the Aldine text of 1498 (for which Musurus used the codex Estensis E), only the notes on the Opisthdomos are credited to 1193. That explaining that "the goddess" was Athena and quoting Thuc. follows the lemma ἵν' ἔχων προηγῇ τῷ θεῷ for 1195 (as if it explained "the god"). To crown everything, according to Merritt, "in the Codex Laurentianus (Θ) of the fourteenth century, which has the same disposition as the Aldine text, the lemma for τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς has been abbreviated so that it reads merely ἵν' ἔχων προηγῇ, and the connection [i.e. that between τῆς Ἀθ. δηλονότι and anything whatever] would be quite unintelligible without the rest of the manuscript tradition."

In the Thuc. scholia I know of no conflation quite so fresh and spectacular; but again and again one can sense it. For often, though not actually self-contradictory, a Thuc. scholium seems tautological beyond belief. One senses that it is not one "scholium" at all and that various lemmata or that words such as ἄλλως have been crudely omitted.[2] On the hard sentence 4.63.1 see Ch. VIII, 5 init.; its *Phi* scholium is probably no help either for or against emendation, but is worth quoting in the present context. I print first part of Jones' text, then Hude's text of the scholium; but I divide the latter by letters in parenthesis; and I underline what are, in effect, not less than four attempts to paraphrase the same phrase.

> 4.63.1 . . . κατ' ἀμφότερα ἐκπλαγέντες, καὶ τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης, ὧν ἕκαστός τι ᾠήθημεν πράξειν, ταῖς κωλύμαις ταύταις νομίσαντες εἰρχθῆναι, . . . ἀποπέμπωμεν . . .

> καὶ τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης· καὶ τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐνθυμηθέντες, ὅτι (A) <u>ἃ προσεδοκήσαμεν πρᾶξαι . . . ἐλλιπῶς ἐγένετο</u> καὶ (B) <u>οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας γνώμας ἀπέβη</u>· (C) ταῦτα οὖν αὐτά, <u>μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην γενόμενα</u>, ἱκανὰ κωλύματα ἡμῖν καὶ ἐμπόδια γεγενῆσθαι νομίσωμεν, καὶ (D) τούτοις εἰρχθέντες <u>εἰς τὸ μὴ προβῆναι ἡμῖν τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἠβουλόμεθα</u>, τοὺς ἐπικειμένους ἡμῖν πολεμίους ἀπράκτους ἀποπεμψώμεθα.

Let us first assume that this is not a conflation, but merely verbose. In that case (A) and (B) *do* probably go together, explaining just the lemma; then (C) and (D) relate that to the whole sentence (i.e., they explain the syntax). For often in the scholia καί seems, in effect, to

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[2] Cf. Wendell x–xix, on confusions between different *genera* of older scholia in Theocritus: especially pp. xvi–xvii on the compressions, omissions, etc. of the Ambrosian scholiast.

mean "i.e." or "in other words," or even "scilicet."[3] Thus here (B) repeats (paraphrases) (A); then (C), now explaining the grammar, repeats it yet again (so that even the stupidest reader will see its place in the whole); then (D) repeats or paraphrases (C), in the same way as (B) had done with (A).

But four paraphrases of the one phrase, and then the repetition of (C) by (D) do really seem *de trop*! (D) overbrims the cup, and does so even though, by inserting εἰς, it seems alone to offer a solution to the actual grammatical problem here (viz.: What governs τὸ ἐλλιπὲς?). One cannot, therefore, quite eradicate one's doubt, as to whether all of these clauses connected by καί came really from the same hand.[4]

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[3] Cf. e.g. at 7.68.1 (quoted Ch. VI, 3); also perhaps 2.42.4 τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους, where the Phi scholium has ἀκμαζούσης ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔτι τῆς δόξης <u>καὶ ἐλπίδος τοῦ νικῆσαι</u>, μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους <u>καὶ τοῦ φυγεῖν</u>. I have always felt myself that, in the text of Thuc., δόξης here means not "glory" but "expectation," and governs τύχης which is objective genitive: they died "at the height not of fear but of expectation of (fair) fortune" (cf. Hobbes "in opinion of victory"). Is it not possible that a scholiast, betrayed here by a corruption of his note, originally got this right?

[4] Rutherford, *Book IV* pp. xxxiv–vii, speculates that in the text itself of Thuc. a word and its gloss were often connected by καί; e.g. 4.112.3 βουλόμενος κατ' ἄκρας <u>καὶ βεβαίως</u> ἑλεῖν, where (according to Arnold's app. crit.) the recc. Ar O Ha omit the connective. In the text itself I have found little evidence of this (Rutherford's own examples are all from *deteriores*); but here, as in other places where the scholium seems either extremely verbose or contradictory, this seems worth bearing in mind at least as a possibility.

APPENDIX THREE

DIONYSIUS' TEXT OF THUCYDIDES

The conclusion independently reached, over 80 years ago, in studies of this subject by W.R. Roberts and M. Pehle is that the text of Thuc. given in quotations by Dionysius of Halicarnassus was an abnormally good one, superior to that of any extant MS.[1] Though this is taken for granted by editors of Thuc., who often cite its readings, Dionysius' text is generally mistrusted, presumably for two reasons: (1) Dionysius MSS and Thuc. MSS are mutually contaminated (thus, J.E. Powell), and (2) Dionysius seems at times to misquote from memory. But the first fear was put to rest by Kleinlogel,[2] the second by Pritchett;[3] and I here, briefly, summarize the facts from which one can discern how good is this text.

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[1] On Dionysius see especially: Bartoletti, *Storia*, 16 (on Dion testifying with or against B[u] or *Theta*) and 47–51 (Dion. with *alpha* against *beta* or vice versa); Maximilian Pehle, *Thucydidis exemplar Dionysianum* (etc.) (diss. Berlin 1906); J.E. Powell, *CQ* (1938) 77–9; Kleinlogel, *Geschichte* 159 ff.; W.K. Pritchett, *Dionysius* (etc.) xv–xviii; W.R. Roberts, *CR* 14 (1940) 244–6. Pritchett pp. xvii f. summarizes the results of Pehle's dissertation, which, as he says correctly, has been "generally overlooked." (I have found it cited only by Pritchett.) Pehle has two main defects: (1) he often misreports particular readings; (2) his judgements about their truth tend to be impressionistic (often no reason is given for preferring a reading). Still, this remains the best and most complete study.

[2] Kleinlogel, loc. cit. According to him there are some dozen agreements in error between Dion. Hal. and *beta*, two or three with *alpha*. No such agreement is particularly striking (e.g. 1.22.2 δοκεῖ *beta*, Dion.: ἐδόκει CG; 1.23.5 τινα *beta* Dion. *iud.* 861: τινας CG Dion. *iud.* 833): hence Powell managed to ignore some of them, and to dismiss all but five of the others as coincidental. But the *beta* agreements are much more impressive. (E.g. in a single passage 7.70.2 male cum E ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι: καὶ om. cett.: ἄλλοι om. B. 7.70.3 male ὅτε cum CEFA: ὁπότε BM. 7.70.4 male cum ABFGM ἐκβολαὶ: ἐμβολαὶ CE Σ.Patm. (& Jones). 7.70.4 male cum AEFM φυγεῖν: φεύγειν cett.) Such agreement seems to betray not collation but a kinship; and in any case, if there was some collation, it is strongly suspected only when the agreement is with Beta MSS.

We can suspect that some *recentiores* (always hungry for new material) collated with Dion. For as Powell noticed (op. cit. 77): at 2.42.4 (q.v.) two late 15th-cent. recc. (viz. Q and Cn) coincide with Dion. *ep.* 807 in omitting τῷ αὐτῷ and τὸ (see on this sentence above, Ch. V). That this is not, in those recc., an ancient reading is strongly suggested by the fact that these two MSS are both descended from a Cretan MS, x, which included the *epistula*. (Powell's main idea—that collation exists also between Dion. and the capital MSS—Kleinlogel refuted.)

[3] Pritchett p. xvii distinguishes between two types of quotation: "It is noteworthy

In books 7–8 there are (so far as I can see) five agreements of Dion. with B^{II} against *Theta*, all in truth, viz. 7.69.4 Εὐθύδημος cum B: Εὔδημος cett.; 7.70.7 πολλὴ ἡ παρακέλευσις cum B: cett. om. ἡ; 7.70.7 κατά τε τὴν τέχνην cum B: cett. om. τε; 7.70.8 δι' ὀλίγου πόνου cum B: cett. om. πόνου; 8.64.5 τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ὑπούλου εὐνομίας B, Schol., Dion.: τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ὕπουλον αὐτονομίαν cett. These agreements are striking since, as Kleinlogel showed (loc. cit.), Dion. and B^{II} have no conjunctive errors and so cannot be cognate. Conversely, in the same passage from which all but the last of those examples were taken, Dion. agrees four times with *Theta* against B^{II}, several times in truth: 7.69.4 παραλειφθέντα recte cum CMFAgrB Schol.: παραληφθέντα G: καταλειφθέντα B; 7.70.1 αὐτοῖς ἅμα (?recte) cum CMEFA: ἅμα αὐτοῖς B; 7.70.8 ἀποχωροῦσιν male cum *Theta*: ὑποχωροῦσιν B [cf. 1.54.2, 3.78.3]; 7.71.7 ξυμπασῶν cum CGMEFA: ξυμφορῶν B solus [on this see in Ch. II]. And of Dionysius' six unique readings in this same place, one seems half right (7.70.1 προεξαναγόμενοι: προεξαγαγόμενοι cett.: προεξαναγαγόμενοι Cl.-St. fort. recte) and one right (7.71.7 παρὰ λόγον: παράλογον cett.).

In earlier books, where we seldom have B^{II} as a check upon *Theta*, the picture changes. As can be seen from the following list, Dionysius' text tends here to side with *alpha* against *beta*.[4] I put in boldface the passage-numbers of such places, and use a plus sign (+) for places in which Dionysius' reading is unique:

2.71.1 πρὸς αὐτὸν recte cum ABEF<G>M: παρ' αὐτῶν C
\+ 2.71.1 ? male τοῦ κινδύνου: τὸν κίνδυνον cett. (at cf. Bétant s.v. ξυναίρω)
2.71.2 ἱερὰ Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ cum CG: Δ. ἐ. ἱ.cett.
2.71.3 τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν cum CG: ἡμῖν cett.
2.71.3 ὑμέτεροι cum EMAB: ἡμέτεροι CF
2.71.3 τῆς CFGM: τοῖς EBA

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that in the lengthy quotations, Dionysius' text usually agrees exactly with the text established by modern editors from the Thucydidean manuscripts. The difficulties arise in the quotations of words and phrases. This disparity between the long [i.e. in *De Thuc.*] and short [he cites those in *Amm.* 2] quotations suggests that Dionysius consulted his text of Thuc. for the lengthy passages but otherwise relied on his memory." In this Appendix, I am concerned with the longer quotations; on the shorter ones (for the corruption of which there may be another cause than Dionysius' memory), see above, Ch. X, 4 on 2.42.4.

[4] As Kleinlogel showed, there is no stemmatic significance in this, since the agreements are in truth.

This passage was singled out as significant by Pehle (pp. 51 ff.); but most of my information comes not from him but from the Hude's apparatus and Alberti's.

+ 2.71.3 ? male post τἀναντία add. ἐκείνοις[5]
2.71.4 γῆν cum CG: τὴν γῆν MEFAB
2.72.1 τῶν Πλαταιῶν cum CG: cett. om. τῶν
2.72.1 ποιῆτε cum AFG: ποιεῖτε cett.
2.72.1 παρασκευῇ τε cum MEFAB: δὲ C G
2.72.1 τοσῇδε cum CMEFA: τοσῆδε B
2.72.1 πρότερον cum CG: τὸ πρότερον cett.
2.72.2 πειράσωσι cum CG: -σουσι cett.
2.72.2 ? male cum A τῇ πάσῃ: πάσῃ τῇ cett. (Alberti coll. 7.29.5)
+ 2.72.2 recte 'κείνων: ἐκείνων cett.
2.72.2 πειράσωσι cum C<G>: πειράσουσι ABEFM
2.72.3 male cum M^1 παράδοτε ἡμῖν: ἡμῖν παράδοτε cett.
+ 2.72.3 male om. ἀριθμῷ[6]
+ 2.72.3 male ἀποφορὰν: φορὰν cett.
2.73.2 ἀγγέλλοντες cum CG Π^{34}: ἀπαγγέλλοντες cett.
+ 2.73.3 male om. ὦ
2.73.3 Ἀθηναίους cum CGEMΠ^{34}: Ἀθηναίοις cett.
+ 2.74.1 male ἀνασχέσθαι: ἀνέχεσθαι CGEM: ἀντέχεσθαί ABF
+ 2.74.1 male δέοι: δεῖ cett.
2.74.2 Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς cum CG: ὁ om. cett.
+ 2.74.3 recte τῶνδε πρότερον cum CGEFAB Th. Mag.: τῶν δευτέρων[7] M

[5] In any case perhaps not a gloss but dittography of the same word which occurs 35 letters before.

[6] The word seems protected by Hdt. 6.58; otherwise, since the text could do without it and since I see no obvious cause of omission, I would think it mechanically repeated in *Theta* from ἀριθμόν which occurs 36 letters later.

[7] A curious corruption (a misread abbreviation? cf. McNamee, *Abbreviations*, ss.vv. προ- and πρότερος, both of which are often drastically abbreviated in papyri); compare 3.49.2 καὶ τριήρη εὐθὺς ἄλλην ἀπέστελλον, ὅπως μὴ φθασάσης τῆς προτέρας εὕρωσι διεφθαρμένην τὴν πόλιν: προτέρας recc.: δευτέρας codd.: ἑτέρας alii recc.

APPENDIX FOUR

VALLA'S MISTAKES, BAD "PROOFREADING," UNKNOWN TEXT

In this study I have pointed out several plain mistakes by Valla, also careless "proofreading" by him and his copyist, also the likelihood that his Greek text was often more corrupt than ours.[1] Since Valla's Latin is an important tool in Thucydidean textual criticism, I here give a few more illustrations.

In the first place, one sees that neither Valla nor his copyist checked their beloved *Archetypus* carefully against the Greek text. This seems indicated by certain errors of the following type. (Most are from a list of peculiar readings in Ferlauto, pp. 31 ff.; I list only a few of the plainest, being of proper names): 1.91.3 Λυσικλέους Lysidis ("cl" and "d" being often indistinguishable in Latin minescule), 3.19.1 Λυσικλέα Lysida, 3.80.2 Θουκλέους Thudeis; 2.84.4 Μολύκρειον Molyclium, 3.102.2 Μολύκρειον Molycion; 3.19.2 ἐκ Μυοῦντος ex Meunte, 3.106.2 Φυτίας Sphytiam, 4.119.2 Μενεκράτης Menestrates, 8.41.3 Χαρμίνος Charmilus, 8.61.2 'Αναιΐτις Anerta.[2] But in the second place, given that his text is unknown to us, I think it rash to assume more serious blunders by Valla, unless they are very plain. As one instructive example, I quote the Latin at 3.1.2 as given by M. Pade p. 296, but with my punctuation and square brackets (the round brackets are in the Latin MSS); also I add part of the preceding sentence:

> 3.1.2 . . . Πελοποννήσιοι . . . ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὴν 'Αττικήν· . . . καί ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν· καὶ προσβολαί, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐγίγνοντο τῶν 'Αθ. ἱππέων ὅπῃ παρείκοι, καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον ὅμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἶργον [διὰ add. CG] τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας [GM: προσεξιόντας cett.] τῶν ὅπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν.

> Peloponnenses . . . ingressi sunt Atticam statiuaque habentes regionem populabant, **[excursionesque faciebant ut consuerant]**

[1] See Ch. VI above. My references in this Appendix are to the works listed in n. 1 of that chapter.

[2] Of course, a few of these could be errors in the Greek MSS. Thus e.g. 3.75.1 and 4.119.2 Διειτρέφους Diotrephis: as Lewis points out (op. cit. 277), our codd. have the same variant at 4.53.1 and 8.64.1 (how vexing is all this!).

> Atheniensibus equitibus quacunque dabatur occasio (va quemadmodum consuerant excursionem facientibus cat), leviter armatorum plurimam turbam prohibentibus ne progressa cum armis laederet loca urbi vicina.

It seems absurd to write (Pade p. 296), "Valla has misunderstood the construction of the Greek sentence . . . Valla's Latin period does not make sense . . . Valla's translation follows the Greek word order very closely, and it could almost be a translation of single words, loosely worked together. The *vacat*-passage [sic] may be the beginning of a more elaborate version that was never finished"—etc. Not impossibly, Valla himself does make a small mistake: he overlooks the unusual genitive with προεξιόντες and so, too, the less usual meaning of τῶν ὅπλων (in effect, "camp").[3] The rest he translates with his normal tortuous precision, and surely what happened is that when confronted with two drafts in Valla's papers, the copyist secluded the wrong one![4]

This same scholar's next example of what "does not make any sense" seems also due to a copyist's error: 3.3.1 οὐκ ἔπειθον τοὺς Μυτ. τήν τε ξυνοίκισιν [sic CGE: ξυνοίκησιν FABM] καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλύειν, "non persuasere ut Mitylinei frequentiam ciuitatis *ex cetera insula* [sic in cod. Vat. I. VIII. 276] et apparatum dissoluerent." Since Latin lacks the compact ξυνοίκισιν, there is something commendable in this periphrasis. Pade reports Vat. lat. 1801 as reading "et cetera insula;" she imagines that this is nominative and that Valla somehow conflated, or his scribe somehow conflated, the CGE and FABM readings.

Thus much about slapdash proofreading, and rash assumptions. My three other examples (viz. 1.11.2, 4.63.1, 4.117.2: all discussed earlier) have certain traits in common, which they share with some

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[3] Note that this mistake is very far from certain. Here only GM have the correct προεξιόντας (προσ- cett.); and according to Alberti it is just in this section, from 1.109 to 3.28, that Valla's exemplar has no kinship with G (see Ch. 6, 1. Note also how he avoids the CGE error at 3.3.1 cited below). One strange feature of Pade's study is that it betrays *passim* an almost complete lack of interest in the question, what Greek text Valla had before him.

[4] That this is right is surely proven by *prohibentibus*. He began to make a finite const. as in the Greek, then abandoned that and made an abl. absolute.

If this were not plain, one would be entitled to wonder what Greek he read. What did Valla do, for example, when confronted by dittography? Alberti reports a very odd case ("Qu.T." XIII 12–13): at 4.77.1–2 ὅταν δέῃ ἀπαντησόμενος, he renders the phrase twice—"cum oporteret, occursurus. . . . ut quando opus esset occurreret . . ."—because it occurred both in his text and-having once been omitted—in a marginal supplement to that text!

passages discussed in Ch. VI, viz. (1) Close verbatim translating (with a close tortuous miming even of the word order), which always ends at exactly that point where modern scholars have sensed trouble in the MSS; thereafter, (2) a sudden freedom both in word- and in phrase-order, along with (3) a simple error, and/or (4) something that does not seem an error, but the glimpse of a different, often worse Greek text.

Thus 1.11.2 (q.v. I here bracket the word excised by Krüger:)

περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς
καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι ἄνευ λῃστείας καὶ γεωργίας
  ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον,
ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες [εἷλον]

(A) οἵ γε καὶ οὐχ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ μέρει τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων ἀντεῖχον
(B) πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι
(C) ἐν ἐλασσονί τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἷλον.

δ' ἂν <καὶ> or δὲ κἂν coni. Thompson: alii alia

quod si suppeditante illis commeatu Troiam adissent
et conserti citra latrocinium agriculturamque
  continenter bellum gessissent,
facile in proelio superiores eam evertissent.

(C) eversuri minore et tempore et labore
(A) si non infrequentes, ea tantum quae aderat parte, repugnassent:
(B) sed omnes in obsidione mansissent.

I.e. (queerly) "since they would have taken it with less time and trouble *if* they had not fought back disunited with this or that mere part of their forces, but had all remained together in the siege." There may or may not be mistranslation; but plainly, Valla's Greek text was not ours.

What happened in the following passage (on which see Ch. VIII, 5) it is again hard to know.[5] I underline what Valla fails to translate, and space both the Greek and Latin in order to show at a glance the structure of each. "Quod superest" is in parentheses in the MS:

4.63.1 καὶ νῦν
τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τε τούτου διὰ τὸ ἀτέκμαρτον δέος

[5] Unless, perhaps, there is something very interesting in some of the recc. Here and elsewhere, especially in books 3–8, one is constantly vexed by the lack of an apparatus that would be (a) as pedantically exact as Hude's and (b) more attentive to the recc. even than Alberti. But perhaps it is just as well to remember that nothing compensates for the loss of "*xi*" and "*rho*."

καὶ διὰ τὸ ἤδη φοβεροὺς παρόντας 'Αθηναίους,
κατ' ἀμφότερα ἐκπλαγέντες
καὶ τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης,
ὧν ἕκαστός τι ᾠήθημεν πράξειν,
ταῖς κωλύμαις ταύταις ἱκανῶς νομίσαντες εἰρχθῆναι,
τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀποπέμπωμεν....

itaque nunc nos,—
cum futuri, quod obscurum et incxploratum est,
tum Atheniensium, qui formidolosi iam assunt,
metu,—(**quod superest** [?? = τὸ ἐλλιπὲς]),
existimemus quae quisque [? τις] nostrum se acturum arbitrabatur
ea prorsus prohiberi hisce impedimentis,
et hostem huic regioni imminentem missum faciamus....

As was said in Ch. VIII, I assume that our text here is basically sound; still, it is hard to feel that Valla had it![6]

At 4.117.2 (q.v.) it seems as if instead of στέρεσθαι (and notice, again, how very exact and honest the translation is till that point) Valla read, imagined or conjectured something like στερεῶσθαι ("confirmare"):

4.117.2 τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ἄνδρας περὶ πλέονος ἐποιοῦντο κομίσασθαι, ὡς ἔτι Βρασίδας ηὐτύχει· καὶ ἔμελλον ἐπὶ μεῖζον χωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν στέρεσθαι, τοῖς [τοὺς Pe Pd] δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἀμυνόμενοι [-οις Pi^3] κινδυνεύσειν [-εύειν ABEF] καὶ κρατήσειν.[7]

κινδυνεύσειν secl. Böhme, Krüger, Steup: κρατήσεσθαι Poppo: εἰ καὶ κρατήσειαν Madvig: alii alia

Valla: ... suos recuperare plurimi faciebant, et eo magis quo Brasidas magis perficiebat: remque augebat. habentes in animo alios *confirmare*: alios qui cx aequo resisterent temptare ac vincere.

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[6] The round brackets, present in the Latin MS, could be the copyist's punctuation; so that in my first reaction I thought that that despairing person had made his own note about extra words of which he could not make sense. But I suppose Valla means: "... as for what remains, let us reflect that our several hopes are sufficiently hindered" etc.

He did probably read τις which is given only by G, to which his text tends to be akin. G alone is not impressive authority. But Arnold's solitary comment is worth quoting: "'In those thoughts that we severally entertained of great achievements'.... But we should rather expect ᾠήθημέν τι πράξειν than τι ᾠήθημεν πράξειν. And as ἕκαστός τις makes a very good sense, and is supported by several good MSS., I have marked τι as of doubtful authority, though I have still retained it in the text."

[7] Note the Pi^3 reading—is that a Byzantine conjecture?—or is it an extremely interesting *xi* reading? "They would stay deprived of the prisoners and put the others [those who were faring well because of Brasidas' success] in danger." In this case, Madvig points in the right direction.

Even apart from στέρεσθαι, Valla is hard to understand. So far as I can see, he must have read τοὺς . . . ἀμυνομένους, which seemed to mean the Athenians, and so bravely tried to take κινδυνεύσειν as transitive—which of course is impossible.

Wretched Valla!—it is in places like this, where his Greek text seems most impressively corrupt, that one should recall his words about the "aurivenis . . . intra viscera montium abditis unde nec suspicere nec prospicere nec respicere possem. . . ."

And why even bother with Valla in places so hard, where his Greek text was even worse perhaps than ours? For one thing, because it reminds one, valuably, of the corruptness, fragility, yet many-sidedness of the MS tradition: a tradition to which not even Hude's or Alberti's fullest apparatus is ever quite faithful.

APPENDIX FIVE

REMARKS ON EDITORS AND THE STEMMA AND ON THE PRESENT STEMMA DIAGRAM

(1) (*On Editors and the Stemma*)

> Codices deteriores, quorum scripturas POPPO in apparatu critico editionis magnae (a. 1821–40) collegit, nullus fere pretii sunt; sed tamen raro accidit, ut unus aliquis contra consensum librorum meliorum scripturam haud dubie veram vel saltem quae probari possit exhibeat. Huiusmodi scripturas testimoniis alienis necessario usus attuli, nisi quod aliquot locos Danici codicis [=Ha] ipse inspexi.
>
> —Hude, *Ed. max.* (1898) I. vii

What Hude did value were the seven "capital MSS" C G M E F A B: they are (excepting G) the oldest; and they are those that suffice to reconstruct the 9th-century archetype *Theta*, which in most places is the sole *direct* ancestor of all extant MSS. The many *recentiores*, with one exception, can all be derived from those seven. That exception is H; for from 7.5.1 to 7.50 where it breaks off, H was actually copied from—not merely collated with—the very interesting non-Theta MS *xi* (on which see section [2] below).[1]

At the same time, like the capital MSS themselves, many *recentiores* contain plainly ancient readings obtained by collation from outside *Theta*. For this reason some of them—namely the *Psi* and *Xi* MSS that support one another—are of great value. But even today editors show a certain restraint in citing the recc., for two main reasons. (1) With the exception of H, they are basically derivative. (2) They tend to be less transparent. That is, they are very hard to use because, on the one hand, they teem with late interpolations while, on the other hand, they tend to be hugely contaminated. One can scarcely see or even sense where a reading came from. That is why the sober, Lachmann-like procedure of Hude (as quoted above) was not much modified by Powell (OCT Preface, p. x, ¶ 3), even though Powell

[1] Of course, descriptive terminology is seldom perfect. Among "capital MSS" one could also include, besides H, two 10th-century collections of excerpts, Z and Pm (mentioned in the second part of this appendix).

had proven the presence of old readings in what are now called the *psi* MSS; and not modified drastically even by Alberti.[2]

The first person clearly to demarcate seven capital MSS—and hence "scientifically" to purify the too eclectic, "vulgate" text of Aldus and Portus—was Bekker in 1821.[3] This event turned out to be a mixed blessing, since it led good editors almost to ignore the *recentiores*; but the real brilliance of this achievement can be seen from a mere glance at Poppo's edition, which was almost exactly contemporaneous. Now oddly enough Poppo remains perhaps the greatest commentator on Thuc. Like everyone else, he is very often wrong; but he seems less often merely clever, and more constantly and subtly attentive both to Thuc. and to other scholars, than anyone else. That is why, for example, he was able to see the worth of Valla's text; it is why he was first to notice the worth of H "quo usque pertinet" and B in books 7–8;[4] it is why he alone of all editors did not commit certain common blunders regarding the provenance of the various scholia;[5] and it is why again and again, as one studies this or that *crux*, one is surprised to find that every argument adduced in two hundred years of discussion has already been discussed, in detail, by Poppo. Yet Poppo had so little grasp or, indeed, intuition of the true historical relations between the MSS that his pages on this (*Prolegomena* 61 ff.) seem now a little bizarre. He distinguishes five classes of MSS (which are further subdivided) according to their intrinsic worth for editors; but to some of the best of the capital MSS he prefers quite worthless recc.: most strikingly, he considers C almost worthless and

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[2] *Historiae* cxcvi–cxcvii, and in practice—despite his brave words on p. cxliii, "nullum dubium est quin Thuc. *Historiae* 'recensionem apertam,' ut Georgii Pasquali verbis utar, patefaciant earumque in textu constituendo plus editoris iudicium quam codicum fides et auctoritas valeat." With this cf. Wilamowitz as quoted here below. I confess to being unimpressed by these appeals to *iudicium*. The trouble is that (a) without MS authority we have no ancient text; while (b), unless a reading is *very* plainly superior, its authority comes from its having a clear provenance. It is impossible to do without some scheme by which to sift the mass of mediocre readings. (Even Poppo needed one, wrong though it was: see below). Insofar as it eschews such support, even the most informed and acute *iudicium* becomes noticeably "subjective." One can find practically anything in one or two of the recc.; and when Alberti does, now and then, lean on support so fragile, one feels that though he might be right, he is approving some late Byzantine conjecture.

[3] See Hemmerdinger *Essai* p. 9. Bekker's prime MSS were ABCDEFG; D was later proven derivative and replaced by M, of which Stahl in 1873 was the first to make extensive use.

[4] See Luschnat *Th. Historiae* p. 205 ("Addenda et Corrigenda").

[5] Powell *CQ* 30 (1936) 80, also 81 (bottom, on 3.34).

M quite worthless. Not less interesting is Arnold, himself an excellent commentator, who had the luxury of being able to choose between Bekker and Poppo: most often, he absurdly sides with Poppo in this. The next generation which included Cobet, Madvig, Herwerden and others was scarcely better. They show greater experience of MSS, and a defter touch in conjecture; but they have no clear idea of a stemma; they often adduce the readings of capital MSS and recc. indifferently; and they have an irrational contempt of C (perhaps because of that copyist's palpable carelessness, his lacunae, his bad handwriting, etc.). It seems chiefly to have been Hude who got the whole situation basically right.

Now, the "lesson" here is not as simple as is sometimes thought. On the one hand, one sees that in this contaminated, "open" tradition the *stemma codicum*—though its main lines are quite certain—is of such limited value that the older commentaries like Poppo's or Arnold's, which ignore it, rarely overlook a good reading. Indeed, our stemma has biassed the judgement; for it happens now and then that good readings in the recc., or in Valla, were better recognized in 1820 than in 1900. On the other hand, Poppo too respected MS "authority" and tried hard to make a scheme. If properly used, the stemma is a real (if clumsy) tool, and *the very attempt constantly to use it sharpens our impressions of particular MSS.* When thus arrived at, these mere impressions are worth something; and it is no accident that the keenest were precisely Hude's. Thus, there is injustice in the following critique by Wilamowitz (written in 1921, quoted by Luschnat on p. 7 of his 1964 prefacc):

> Notwendig ist für die gesamte Kritik, dass die Beurteilung der Handschriften sich von Vorurteilen befreit; Steup hat bei Hude nicht gelernt, C zu werten, Hude hat den Glauben an die 'beste Überlieferung' noch nicht überwunden . . . Hier, wo wir eine reiche Überlieferung haben und ihre Schwankungen bis ins Altertum verfolgen können, ist die Textkritik schwer, aber sie kann auch etwas erreichen. Eklektisch muss sie sein; die richtige Methode ist, sich von dem freizumachen was einst als Methode galt und Autoritätsglaube war. Nur muss Sprachkenntnis und Stilgefühl hinreichend vorhanden sein, dass das Richtige gewählt wird. Gewaltsamkeiten erzielen hier so wenig Sicherheit wie überall.

In truth Hude was fully as "eclectic" as Wilamowitz; he did not mistake rules of thumb for a Method; and his belief in the "best MSS," like his frequent suspicions about a B "Corrector," was not

Autoritätsglaube.[6] What impelled him was a constant *search* for authority; what makes his work still worth citing is his attentiveness to the real relations between particular MSS. For this attentiveness itself refined his *Stilgefühl* for Thuc., which was probably more acute than that of Wilamowitz. Hude did favor C, and this led to errors, yet the preference was not inane. The *most* instructive thing in this famous dispute about the B Corrector is that in fact (as was shown in Ch. II) Hude was largely right.

The *stemma codicum* of Thuc. is no more than, but not less than, a coarse, makeshift map of the main paths of truth and corruption. It is not a formula for the discovery of true readings; often, it does not even constitute a Method, but seems a caricature of one. And yet as has been shown repeatedly in this book, to ignore it is to ask for trouble.

(2) (*On the Present Stemma Diagram*)

> En effet un pareil stemma n'est qu'un moyen graphique destiné à faire ressortir le plus ou moins d'accord qui se trouve entre les mss, et peut-etre devrait-on s'en servir avec plus de circonspection, pour la raison qu'il ne permet pas d'indiquer tous les intermédiaires par où a passé le texte de chacque manuscrit, ni le grand nombre des influences latérales qu'il peut avoir subies.
>
> *Hude, Rev. Phil.* 26 (1902) 33

The Stemma diagram is a composite based on diagrams in Kleinlogel and Alberti.[7] In regard at least to the seven capital MSS—i.e. if we ignore both the *codices recentiores* and the dotted lines that signify

[6] At first glance the remark about Steup—who betrays, indeed, a mere bias against C—is more nearly accurate. Yet *Autoritätsglaube* is not very aptly applied to him either. What one *likes* in Steup is precisely his lack of real interest in the MSS; the relative coarseness of his "textual criticism"; his proceeding always from considerations of sense, historical logic, Thucydidean idiom, etc.: in a word, the long list of "parallels" which he never fails to adduce. In the composing of lapidary prose such as this by Wilamowitz, proper names are often best omitted.

[7] A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1965) (cf. also the diagram in Kleinlogel, *Philol.* 108 [1964] p. 234.) and G.B. Alberti, *Thucydides Historiae, Libri I-II* (Rome 1972), pp. ix–cxcii (with a complete list of MSS pp. ix–xxxix).

The best review of Kleinlogel's book is that by D.M. Lewis in *Gnomon* 38 [1966] 135 8, from which I shall quote below. Alberti is reviewed by Tosi *Atene e Roma* 22

collation by the copyists (on both of which see below)—there is little difference between this and the simple stemma of Hude.[8] Its basic truth can most quickly and clearly be seen in the lists of omissions in Appendix I. The following notes, intended for those unacquainted with the stemma, are meant to sketch both its main features and its main problems.[9]

MAIN FEATURES OF THE STEMMA. (1) *In the basic lines of descent* of capital MSS, there remains only one real obscurity. I outline its whole context because, in so doing, I also explain interrelations between the five *Beta* MSS, which constitute the largest and hardest part of the stemma.[10]

In the first place, that M E F A B all descend from one hyparchetype, *beta*, is plain both from hundreds of common errors (e.g. lacunae) and from certain common supplements; the latter came from some old uncial MS, with which *beta* must have collated: *Lambda*.[11]

(1977) 54–9, and by Kleinlogel in *Gnomon* 49 (1970) 754–773; and he answers both critics at some length (especially Kleinlogel) in *A & R* 25 (1980) 15 ff.

On the stemma see also the old, but still first-rate, summaries of H.S. Jones, "Sur les Manuscrits de Thucydide," *Revue de Philologie* n.s. 25 (1901) 288-94 and Karl Hude, "Encore une fois Laur. LXIX 30," *Rev. de Phil.* n.s. 26 (1902) 32-37.

For other bibliography see Alberti (1972) passim. Despite its length this is far the best *introduction* to the topic: laconic, pellucid, and scrupulous in recording every debt to pioneers (Poppo, Hude, Bartoletti, Powell, Hemmerdinger, Lewis, Dover, et al.). It is a model of expository clarity and its only main fault (if one can call it that) results from this. For often, from his exact summary of what is now known about some piece of *Terra Incognita*, one gets the mistaken impression that the remaining obscurities are not important (cf. above Ch. VI, 1).

[8] Hude, *Editio maxima* (Leipzig 1898) vol. 1, p. ix. Note that most of the nameless asterisks there, by which he points to lost intermediate MSS, were later in fact given names. His only actual mistake (if indeed it was one) was in deriving M both from *alpha* (as we now call it) and from *beta*. (As he later said himself in *Rev. de Phil.* n.s. 26 [1902] 33, "il faut bien avouer que cet expédient n'est qu'un pisaller.") Hude knew much more than he showed in this stemma and kept it simple quite deliberately (ibid p. 33).

[9] Unless otherwise identified, page references to Kleinlogel and Alberti refer to their two main works *Geschichte* etc., *Thuc. Historiae* etc. For the sake of simplicity I use Powell's simple *sigla* for later hands in the capital MSS, c f g (for C^2, F^2, etc.).

[10] On the relation of C and G see Jones (op. cit. n. 7 above, p. 291; cf. Hude op. cit. p. 33): The two MSS have certainly a common ancestor; and if G often diverges from C, that is because G was written three centuries later, by a copyist who often collated.

[11] On *Lambda* see below. At times one senses that between *beta* and *Theta* there must have been another MS: one that, for reasons of economy, is not posited by writers on the stemma. In general, both Alberti and Kleinlogel seem to me too prone, in the interest of "economy," to minimize the possible number of such lost intervening MSS. Hude and Jones, loc. cit., n. 7 above, seem to show a keener awareness of the possibility.

Now F A B show many common errors, and must descend from a single exemplar, *delta*. Thus M and E, which are each free of many F A B errors, are perhaps closer to the hyparchetype. And for certain reasons—both because each has certain peculiar errors of its own, and because each is sometimes alone right—it is hard to derive *delta* from either of them.

The clearer case is that of M. As Dover was first to say plainly (*CQ* 1954 p. 77)—"M is sometimes right where CEδ agree in error, and in a certain proportion of these cases it agrees with the papyri." But these abundant, very old readings of M are not unique to it: they are shared by f c G.[12] So for c f G M Dover posited *beta 1*, a copy of *beta*, which collated with some very old MS outside the *Theta* tradition, which is now called *Phi*. These *Phi* readings are far too abundant to have been wholly ignored by any MS that derived from *beta 1*. So we seem, so far, to have two separate *beta*-copies, *beta 1* and *delta*; and of these the former—because of the contamination—is the more valuable.[13]

At first glance, E is similarly *sui generis*. Like M, it betrays contamination, and in three ways. (1) As again was first clearly shown by Dover (*CQ* 1954 p. 77 ff.), E has certain unique readings, some of which seem very old. But (contrary to what Dover thought) these are perhaps *Lambda* readings which *beta* had obtained by collation, and which *beta*'s other copies then ignored (Alberti xlvii ff.) In addition (2) E has other readings which it shares with no capital MS, but only with certain *recentiores*. Most of these are not in the text itself but in the scholia; but some of these, too, seem very old (for example, the *Vita*). Therefore, E collated not only with *Lambda* but also with some other old, non-*Theta* MS, viz. *psi*, the ancestor of those *recentiores* just mentioned. In addition (3) E has many *alpha* readings! These too must result from collation. But since we find these same *alpha* readings also in the *psi* MSS, we suppose that E got them from *psi*, which itself was a copy of *alpha*.[14]

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[12] M cannot be the source of f c G g; this is shown e.g. by the fact that they have, plainly from this same source, much fuller scholia.

Apparently, the first to notice the great importance of f was Jones (*Rev. de Phil.* n.s. 25 [1901] 292): here Hude was wrong (*Rev. de Phil.* n.s. 26 [1902] 32).

[13] As regards the combinations CM and CGM, best seems the laconic explanation of Jones (*Rev. de Phil.* n.s. 25 [1901] 290–1): "sauf de très rares exceptions, les leçons communes à CGM préservent le texte indubitablement authentique"—and when they do not, the cause of agreement is probably collation by M with an *alpha* MS, of which we can know nothing.

[14] Note that there is nothing strange about the two-way collation, shown on the

Now these E peculiarities are not unique to it, but shared by Z (a 10th-c. collection of excerpts from Thuc.: Alberti p. xv). E Z, then, derive from a common exemplar which did the collating, and which Kleinlogel called *gamma*. As in the case of *beta 1*, it seems hard to think that any MS deriving from this could have ignored the old readings in it obtained by collation. Therefore, F A B do not derive from it, and we seem to have three *beta*-copies: *beta 1* (c g f M), *gamma* (E Z) and *delta* (F A B), of which the first two are valuably contaminated.

But Dover and Alberti have disliked this tripartite scheme. The trouble is that E and F A B have many common errors (for example, long lacunae): this seems to demand a common ancestor. Therefore, as Bartoletti had done, they derive *delta* (FAB) from *gamma* (EZ); and to explain the EZ collation-readings which *delta* ignored, they suppose that it was not *gamma* itself which collated, but an intermediary between EZ and *gamma*: Dover's *gamma 1*.

According to Kleinlogel (*Geschichte* 123 ff.) we have no need of *gamma 1*. The EFAB errors are not *gamma* errors: they are *beta* errors. This is strongly indicated by the fact that—as he was first to notice—M avoids them—and has the truth either in its text or in its margin, or both—only when alerted by *phi* marginalia.[15] In response to this Alberti says (p. ci), "sed firmis argumentis demonstrari nequit, ita ut in haec re codicum stemma immutatum relinquere malim." By saying that he would rather leave the stemma "unchanged," Alberti seems to mean the work of Bartoletti and Dover. If we go a little farther back we find that Kleinlogel's innovation—based on one acute observation—has in fact restored the old scheme of Hude (*Editio Maxima* I. ix). In this I follow Kleinlogel, partly for that sentimental reason, but also it better explains the good readings of F A B.[16]

(2) *As regards the Greek-letter collation exemplars*: Alberti, Dover and

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stemma drawing, between *psi* and *gamma* (exemplar of E): the two manuscripts must have been present in the same scriptorium, in the hands of men eager to produce the best text. But as one imagines this, one senses how false (how oversimple) might be our single collation-line leading to the older MS *Psi*: both later MSS might have collated with that, and with other old MSS. On contamination—which does really make mischief in a stemma!—see below.

[15] I take two examples from Alberti himself (p. ci)—for he acknowledges the difficulty: 4.75.1 ἀπὸ . . . πλεύσαντες om. E F A B: in mg. add. M f. 4.118.1 καὶ ἀδεῶς G M f, in mg. M (!!): om. cett.

[16] For example the apparently correct F A B omissions at 2.78.1, 3.80.1 (see Ch. II, 10): Alberti's scheme would not explain this. Also, it may not be entirely amiss to recall a certain blunder by Dover (*CQ* n.s. 4 [1954]): "I postulate γ^1 principally

even Kleinlogel himself have at times felt that there may be too many (see below); but *the dotted lines that lead to them correspond to facts.* That which leads to *LAMBDA* is needed to explain these facts:[17] (a) some *alpha-beta* disagreements betray misread uncials: this means either that *Theta* itself was in uncials (a thing that seems possible, but not probable) or that *beta* collated with an old MS; then (b) too many *beta* variants are ignored by C G; (c) only *beta* variants are often marked "γρ(άφεται)"; (d) at times MFAB variants marked "γρ." are simply incorporated in E; (d) E is sometimes alone in truth (or, still better, in a senseless reading that betrays the truth), and it is hard to think that such readings came either from *psi* or from *Theta*; finally (e) Pm (a collection of excerpts about sieges) derives from an uncial MS, prior to *Theta* but akin to it; yet we find many conjunctive Pm-*Theta* (= C G) errors but no such Pm-*beta* errors. Taken together, these facts make it hard to derive *beta*-variants from variant readings in *Theta.*

Then, as was said above, the tortuous line to *PHI* is needed to explain a very large number of readings peculiar to c f g M. (The combination F G M has never been in doubt; but stemmatists prior to Kleinlogel used to draw collation-lines directly from F, G and M to *Phi*; i.e. ignoring c, and the late date of f).

Then the line to *OMEGA* is needed for the apparently ancient readings peculiar to B after 6.92.4, which at times agree with *alpha* (in defiance of the stemma) or with the papyri. The much used but somewhat ambiguous siglum B^2, or B^{II}, refers to all readings taken from this source. There has always been dispute and confusion about B's exact nature in these two books; for it seems a conflation. At times, its reading is plainly old and better than that of *Theta* (i.e. in these places, B = B^2); at other times, just as in preceding books, it plainly derives from the uninteresting MS from which A was also copied, *epsilon* (see Alberti lv–lvi); and often both sources can be detected in the same sentence (e.g. at 6.99.2: see above Ch. X, part 4). The best explanation seems that of Alberti (lvi):

> codicis ζ [i.e. B's exemplar] librarius etiam inde a VI 92,5 eundem librum quem antea descripsit, deinde cum in exemplar quoddam vetus, fortasse decurtatum, incidisset, varias ex eo lectiones sumpsit atque in

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for reasons which will be apparent below [i.e. those later set aside by Kleinlogel], but its existence is suggested also by 8.23.6 . . ., where E's error is not an immediate one." E's error is palpably immediate: see above Appendix I, List 3, item 8.

[17] I here summarize Alberti xliii ff.

> textum inseruit, rasura—ut videtur—facta; postremo lectionum quas eraserat magnam partem in margine vel supra lineam adscripsit.

As for *XI*, that is the necessary source of certain ancient readings preserved solely by H, Valla, Nf[2] Va[2] Ot[3] Pl[3] etc.

Lastly—as was said above—it is necessary to posit *PSI* to account for certain palpably old peculiar readings in E and a group of *recentiores*; of these recc. some of the purest (least contaminated) are Ud Pl M[2] J K; less pure—contaminated from B—are Pc Ot[2] Pm Pf, etc.

BASIC PROBLEMS IN THE STEMMA. Basically there is but one problem, one cause of *terra incognita* on this little map: that of contamination. We could say that it has two aspects, that of *recentiores* (including later hands in the capital MSS), and that of the extrastemmatic collation exemplars. The two things are closely interrelated; but for ease of exposition I discuss them separately.

As was said earlier, *recentiores* tend to be hard to use because the provenance—and hence the authority—of particular readings is in them so uncertain. In the case of *Lambda*, *Omega*, *Phi* and *Xi* readings in the capital MSS, the problem is minimal: one can usually sense a reading's provenance. But among the *recentiores* the problem becomes gigantic.

This is illustrated best by the *psi* MSS. The existence of *Psi* is not in any doubt; those MSS which it has "infected" can be spotted with some certainty; and a reasonably accurate, very complex map—giving a kind of illusion of exact knowledge—can be made of the whole family (e.g. Alberti p. lxxxv). But at the same time, often, the origin *of a particular reading* is almost as doubtful as it would be if we knew nothing at all of this family tree. Hence, the following protest by Lewis (reviewing Kleinlogel, *Gnomon* 38 [1966] 136–7):

> As far as I can see, the practical results of this are that, whenever we have an unorthodox reading in a ψ-ms, we need to have the whole tradition before us in order to tell whether it is an error, an emendation, a Ξ-reading . . ., an Ω-reading coming in through the collation of B or a B-type ms (and there is no telling whether this B-type ms would be dependent on B or not), or a Ψ-reading, and even if we have the whole tradition, it would be very hard in practice to be sure what has to be a Ψ-reading. It is as well to remember that the nearest we have to a pure Ψ-text is Pl in Books 7–8. I find it hard to determine how far Kleinlogel has really appreciated this point.

I suspect myself that the other stemmatist, too, has not always seen the danger (cf. Ch. VI init.). At any rate this is why, having but

listed some of the most important, I avoid complicating the stemma drawing with these interesting MSS.

The second basic problem seems at heart less serious. It was put most forcibly by Dover, in *his* review of Kleinlogel (*CR* 80 [1966]):

> We have now reached a stage at which every extant manuscript is derived from a single ninth-century archetype but is nevertheless believed to contain ingredients from one or other of no less than five extra-archetypal sources, not one of which has left us any direct descendents. It is difficult not to feel a nagging suspicion that something, somewhere, has gone wrong. . . . At the risk of seeming frivolous . . . I would suggest, simply as a hypothesis to be tested, that there were not five extra-archetypal sources, but one; that this one was extensively damaged, so that it could never be used by itself as an exemplar; and that it was furnished with supralinear variants. . . .

Of course, as Alberti later said, there is no way in which we could really test this hypothesis; and though it seems to have impressed Alberti—who has often tried to unite or to relate the collation exemplars[18]—it strikes me as a cure worse than the putative disease.

It is indeed hard to prove the discrete existence of each of these capital Greek letter MSS. It is hard to prove even that *Lambda* is not a mirage caused by the fact that *Alpha*, lazily, ignored *Theta*-variants;[19] that *Lambda* and *Xi* are not identical (they seem akin: Kleinlogel 172–3; Alberti cxxxvi ff.[20]); that *Phi* and *Omega* (which at times seem also akin) are not related by a collation now hidden from us; etc. But what, basically, should we gain if we could thus unite them? A stemma that would rival, in complexity and illusory precision, that of the *Psi* stemma described above. A stemmatist's logical "economy" does not always help an editor's concrete imagination, but may clog and bias it; or in other words there is, in stemmatic analysis, a point of diminishing returns. What we have now seems better for the needs of editing. Each of the five dotted lines corresponds to hard facts;

[18] E.g. Alberti, *A & R* 25 [1980] 15 (*Lambda* = *Omega*), 17 (*Phi* = *Omega*).

[19] For the reasons given above, this is improbable. But often, in the case of *this or that particular reading*, one can legitimately doubt whether it came from *Lambda* or from *Theta*. About *Theta*-marginalia we know, after all, very little for certain: we have, in the hyparchetypes, only the "reconstructed" ghosts of two copies of *Theta*.

[20] One perhaps striking hint of this (Alberti loc. cit.) is that many *xi* readings are found elsewhere only in E. Since E does not derive from *xi* or from any *Xi* MS, these E readings must come from *Lambda* (via *beta* as described above): therefore *Xi* and *Lambda* seem identical, or very akin—or else, perhaps, *xi* collated with E—or perhaps, both. . . .

that is, to occasions when scribes found old readings, which are not explained by the basic lines of descent in the stemma. These five lines rise into outer space, each arriving at the star of a capital Greek letter; and the result is that at five places in the stemma we are reminded, without undue confusion, of its coarse makeshift nature.

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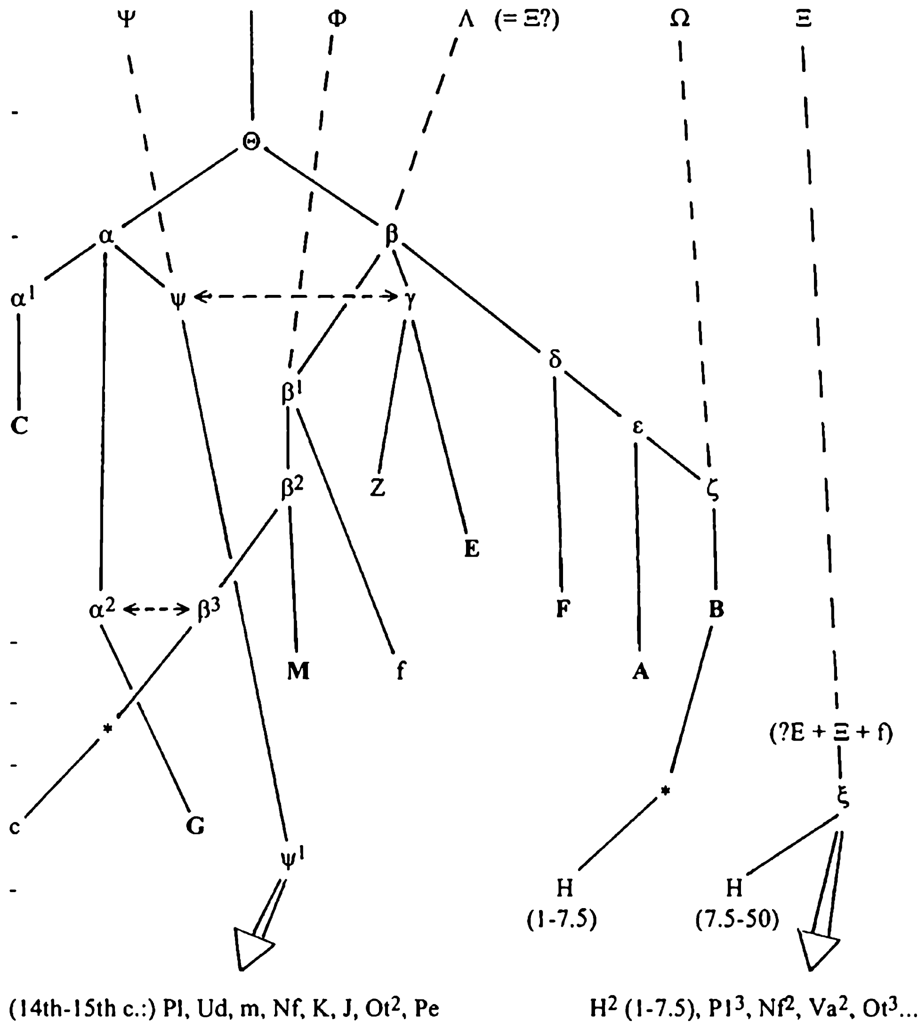
Diagram of the *Stemma Codicum*



(On this diagram, based on drawings by G.B.Alberti and A.Kleinlogel, see Appendix V. Not shown are the interrelations of the ψ and ξ *recentiores*. The dashes at the left margin roughly mark centuries, the first being 800, the last 1300.)

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